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Some Correspondence of Maharaja Duleep Singh

BY

S. GANDA SINGH, M.A.

On January 20, 1942, Her Highness Princess Bamba Sutherland, the eldest daughter of His Highness Maharaja Duleep Singh, the last sovereign of the Panjab, in response to my request for any historical documents that she might have in her possession, was pleased to let me have some correspondence of the Maharaja bearing on his relations with the British Government in India and England. It contained twenty-four letters, both issued and received. These, added to a number of letters that I had collected from other sources, throw a flood of fresh light on the history of his life after the annexation of the Panjab, and deal with the following topics :—

(i) Disillusionment of Maharaja Duleep Singh "that he had been cheated out of his kingdom, and out of the private estates which his father [Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Panjab] had possessed."

(ii) Details of the ancestral private estates and property that he had inherited from his father, not as ruler of the kingdom of Lahore, but as a *Sardar* and head of the Sukkar-chakkia family.

(iii) The Maharaja's differences with the British Government in England and India on the interpretation of the terms of the Treaty of March 29, 1849, in respect of

(a) the confiscation of his private estates, jewels, and other property, of which there is no mention in the Treaty, and

(b) the amount of pension payable to him.

(iv) Restrictions as to the place of his residence in India after he had decided to leave England for good and settle down permanently in this country.

(v) His arrest and detention at Aden without a warrant, and his public renunciation of Christianity in favour of the faith of his ancestors.

Disillusionment of the Maharaja. The kingdom of Maharaja Duleep Singh, including the whole of the Panjab to the north and west of the rivers Beas and Ghara, and the North West Frontier Province was annexed to the British dominions in India on March 29, 1849, by Lord Dalhousie in consequence of the so-called Second Sikh War of 1848-49. The Maharaja was then only ten and a half years old, having been born on Bhadron 23, 1835 Bk., September 6-7, 1838 A.D., and had been since December 16, 1846, a ward of the British Government whose salaried nominee and agent, the British Resident at Lahore, actually ruled the kingdom on behalf of the British Government. The treaty (of Bharowal) of December 16, 1846, had placed full and final authority in all matters, civil and military, in the hands of the British Resident.

Article 2 of the Treaty had stipulated that "A British Officer with an efficient establishment of assistants shall be appointed by the Governor-General to remain at Lahore, which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State." Article 7 provided that "A British Force of such strength and numbers, and in such positions as the Governor-General may think fit, shall remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharaja and preservation of the peace of the country," with full liberty for the Governor-General, according to Article 8, "to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post in the Lahore territories, the occupation of which may be deemed necessary by the British Government, for the security of the capital or for maintaining the peace of the country." "The Lahore State shall pay to the British Government," said Article 9, "twenty-two lakhs of new Nanuck Shaee rupees of full tail and weight per annum for the maintenance of this force, and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government." "The provisions of this Engagement," under Article 11, "shall have effect during the minority of His Highness Maharaja Duleep Singh, and shall cease and terminate on His Highness attaining the full age of sixteen years, or on the 4th September of the year 1854."

According to the above Treaty the entire responsibility for the governance of the kingdom of Panjab during the minority of Maharaja Duleep Singh and maintenance of peace and order therein,

against all disturbances and rebellions, either by individual officials and servants of the kingdom or by all of them collectively, lay with the British Government who were paid by the kingdom of the Maharaja for "a British Force of such strength and numbers, and in such positions as the Governor-General may think fit....for the preservation of the peace of the country." And when the rebellion of Multan broke out, it was only a local insurrection of the Governor of Multan against the central Government at Lahore. The Lahore Darbar remained faithful to the terms of the Treaty and was devotedly attached and obedient to the British Resident who continued to stay undisturbed at the Sikh capital, controlling and directing, with full authority, all matters in every Department of the State. They co-operated with him with men, money and munitions of war, in the suppression of the rebellion. The Lahore Darbar was throughout under the impression that the British forces had gone against Multan on their behalf in the performance of their duty "for the preservation of the peace of the country....during the minority of His Highness Maharajah Duleep Singh." And never was an indication to the contrary given to the Lahore Darbar either by the British Resident or by the Governor-General. To the last the Governor-General did not even make the formal declaration of war against Maharaja Duleep Singh or the kingdom of Lahore. But in spite of all this Lord Dalhousie, taking undue advantage of the presence of the British troops in the Panjab and their being in possession of all positions of vantage in the kingdom, and regardless of all pledges and responsibilities of the British Government as the guardians of the Maharaja up to September 4, 1854, deposed their ward and annexed his territories to their own, with a view to carrying their frontier to the Khyber and other passes on the north west of India. [Vide *Akhbarat-i-Lahour-o-Multan*, P.I.H. R.C. 1947.]

He was then removed from the Panjab to Fategarh in the U.P. Brought up under Christian influence, he embraced that religion on March 8, 1853, eighteen months before he attained the full age of sixteen years. On April 19, 1854, he left for England. Throughout this period, and up to 1860 when he came to India to see his mother, Maharani Jind Kaur, he was entirely ignorant of his political relations with the British Government, of the circumstances under which he had been removed from the throne of the Panjab and deprived of his private estates, jewels and other property. Whatever might have been said by the political propagandists to give her a bad name for political purposes. the Maharani, according to *History of the Punjab*, 1846, Vol. II, "was a person of some accomplishments....being skilful in the use of her pen", and possessed

of a wonderful ability "to act with energy and spirit." Lord Dalhousie was terribly afraid of her qualities of head and heart. With her presence in the Panjab, he knew he could not easily cheat her son out of his kingdom and rob him of his private estates and properties. It was, therefore, that he had removed her from the country and put her in prison. And when Brigadier Mountain informed him of the anxiety of the Sikhs for her restoration, Dalhousie wrote to him in a private letter from Camp Ferozepur, dated January 31, 1849 :—

" My dear Mountain,

" The pretences of the Sikhs of their anxiety to get back the Ranee.... are preposterous. And the more sincere they are, the stronger are the grounds for not acceding to them. She has the only manly understanding in the Punjab ; and her restoration would furnish the only thing which is wanting to render the present movement " [the so-called Second Sikh War] " truly formidable, namely an object and a head.

" Trust me this is no time for going back or giving back or winking an eye lid.

Yrs. most sincerely,
Dalhousie."¹

With all the information that she was able to give him while in India, and during her stay in England, the Maharaja seems to have been disillusioned and set a-thinking about the treatment that he had received at the hands of his guardians. The influence of Maharani Jind Kaur on her son was soon felt by the Government in England and the Maharaja was prevailed upon to arrange for a separate house for her. But after her death on August 1, 1863, the Maharaja assiduously devoted himself to the study of the causes of his deposition, and collection of material about his private estates and property. He consulted his friends and legal advisers, and made representations to the Government. But with the passage of time the attitude of the Government of India, and consequently of the Government of England, became stiffer and stiffer. This resulted in the desperation of Maharaja Duleep Singh towards the end of eighteen-seventies. Writing on July 12, 1889, Col. G. B. Malleson says :—

" When I next saw him, about ten years ago, he told me he was the most miserable. His words were to the effect, that subsequently to Col. Oliphant's death, he had discovered that he

1. The original of this autograph letter is in the possession of the writer of this paper.

had been cheated out of his kingdom, and out of his private estates, which his father had possessed, and that he could get no settlement from the India Office, that he still hopes that he might ultimately succeed, but that the treatment he had received had well-nigh broken his heart."

By the beginning of eighteen-eighties he discovered that he could expect no justice from the Government. He, therefore, ventilated his grievances through the press. Writing on August 28, 1882, to the *Times*, London (August 31, 1882), the Maharaja said:—

"As the era of doing justice and restoration appears to have dawned, judging from the recent truly liberal and noble act of the present Liberal Government, headed by, now, the great Gladstone, the Just, I am encouraged to lay before the British nation, through the medium of the *Times* the injustice which I have suffered, in the hope that, although generosity may not be lavished upon me to the same extent as has been bestowed upon King Cetewayo, yet that some magnanimity might be shown towards me by this great Christian Empire.

[Then he gives historical details in support of his case.]

"1. Thus I have been most unjustly deprived of my kingdom, yielding, as shown by Lord Dalhousie's own computation in (I think) 1850, a surplus revenue of some £500,000, and no doubt now vastly exceeds that sum.

"2. I have also been prevented, unjustly, from receiving the rentals of my private estates (*vide* Prinsep's *History of the Sikhs*, compiled for the Government of India) in the Punjab, amounting to some £130,000 per annum, since 1849, although my private property is not confiscated by the terms of the annexation which I was compelled to sign by my guardians when I was a minor, and, therefore, I presume it is an illegal document, and I am still the lawful Sovereign of the Punjab; but this is of no moment, for I am quite content to be the subject of my Most Gracious Sovereign, no matter how it was brought about, for her graciousness towards me has been boundless.

"3. All my personal property has also been taken from me excepting £20,000 worth, which I was informed by the late Sir John Login was permitted to be taken with me to Futtehghur when I was exiled; and the rest, amounting to some £250,000, disposed of as stated before. What is still more unjust in my case is, that most of my servants who remained faithful to me were permitted to retain all their personal and

private property, and to enjoy the rentals of their landed estates (or *Jagheers*), given to them by me and my predecessors ; whereas I, their master, who did not even lift up my little finger against the British nation, was not considered worthy to be treated on the same footing of equality with them, because, I suppose, my sin being that I happened to be the ward of a Christian power.

“The enormous British liberality permits a life stipend of £25,000 per annum, which is reduced by certain charges (known to the proper authorities) to some £13,000, to be paid to me from the revenues of India.

“Lately, an Act of Parliament has been passed by which, some months hence, the munificent sum of some £2,000 will be added to my above stated available income, but on the absolute condition that my estates must be sold at my death, thus causing my dearly-loved English home to be broken up, and compelling my descendants to seek some other asylum.

“A very meagre provision, considering of what and how I have been deprived, has also been made for my successors.

“If one righteous man was found in the two most wicked cities of the world, I pray God that at least one honourable, just and noble Englishman may be forthcoming out of this Christian land of liberty and justice to advocate my cause in Parliament, otherwise what chance have I of obtaining justice, considering that my despoiler, guardian, judge, advocate and jury is the British nation itself ?

“Generous and Christian Englishmen, accord me a just and liberal treatment for the sake of the fair name of your nation, of which I have now the honour to be a naturalised member, for it is more blessed to give than to take.

“I have the honour to remain, Sir, Your most obliged servant,

DULEEP SINGH.”

In further clarification of his case the Maharaja wrote in a subsequent letter of September 6, 1882 :—

“I do not really appeal against the above arrangement ('whereby he will receive an addition of £2,000 to his annual income on the condition that his estates are sold at his death, in order to liquidate his liabilities and provide for his widow and children') but what I do certainly think unjust in it is that I am not permitted to repay during my life the loan which is to be made under it—£16,000 having already been advanced to me and I am thus forbidden to preserve, by a personal sacrifice,

their English home to my descendants. In April last I sent a cheque for £3,543, 14s., representing capital and compound interest at the rate of 5 per cent to the India Office, but it was returned to me.

...

“But whether it is fatal to my case or not, I do press it, and maintain that after the ratification of the Bhyrowal Treaty I was a ward of the English nation, and that it was unjust on the part of the guardian to deprive me of my kingdom in consequence of a failure in the guardianship.

...

“The English Law grants the accused the chance of proving himself not guilty, but I am condemned unheard : is this just?”

—*The Times*, London, September 8, 1882.

His ancestral private estates and property. Maharaja Duleep Singh's father, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was anointed with the *Tilak of Maharajaship* on the Baisakhi day of 1858 Bikrami, April 12, 1801, when he was acknowledged by all the important Sikh *Sardars* and *Missaldars*, and prominent Hindu and Muslim notables of the country, as their monarch. Before that he was only a *Sardar* or head of the Sukkar-chakkia *Misal* like his father, Sardar Maha Singh, and grandfather, Sardar Charhat Singh Sukkar-chakkia. All the estates inherited by Sardar Ranjit Singh Sukkar-chakkia from his ancestors, or that came to him by marriage or were otherwise acquired by him upto that date, or that fell to him by later marriages were his private property like any other movable and immovable property. All this Maharaja Duleep Singh had inherited as the acknowledged head of the Sukkar-chakkia family on the death of his brother Maharaja Sher Singh on September 15, 1843.

When the British Indian Government of Lord Dalhousie annexed the territories of the Panjab on March 29, 1849, and deposed Maharaja Duleep Singh and exiled him from the Panjab, the Government quietly took possession of his private estates, knowingly or otherwise, and amalgamated them with the territories of the State. It also confiscated most of his property in jewels, shawls, household furniture, wearing apparel, harness, fowling pieces and personal arms, armour, ornaments and miniatures of his father and brothers, and the ornaments and wearing apparel of his mother, step-mothers and sisters-in-law.

But, strange enough, the Secretary of State for India denied the existence of any private estate at all. Maharaja Duleep Singh, therefore, wished to come to India “to obtain exact particulars of

the landed estates which he had inherited from Runjeet Singh." But in reply to his letter of September 15, 1882, he was told by Lord Hartington in his letter of October 23, "that it is impossible that permission will be accorded you to visit the Punjab." He, therefore, wrote to his cousin Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhawalia for this information. In reply to the Maharaja's interrogations, Sardar Thakar Singh wrote to him a lengthy letter on November 9, 1883, giving him some details of the history of the family and a brief list of the estates of Sardars Charhat Singh and Maha Singh, and those of Maharaja Ranjit Singh before the kingdom of Lahore came into existence, and of the private estates of his deceased brothers, Maharajas Kharak Singh and Sher Singh, and nephew, Kanwar Nau-Nihal Singh.

The list of property compiled by Sardar Thakar Singh is divided into three parts.

Part I includes the *jageers* (a) of Sardar Charhat Singh in the Bist Jullundur Doab, the Bari Doab and to west of the river from Shahdara to Rawalpindi, except Wazirabad, Gujarat, Manchar, Sialkot and Jammu. The annual income, besides the salt mines income, was about Rs. 15,00,000.

(b) Of Sardar Maha Singh—Besides the above mentioned territories, the country to the west of Rawalpindi up to Margala, along with some parts of the Rachna, Bari and Bist Doabs including Jammu, Shakargarh, and the *pergannahs* of Berhampur, Dinanagar, Indora and Pathankot. The annual income besides the salt revenue, amounted to Rs. 40,00,000.

(c) Of Sardar (Maharaja) Ranjit Singh before his assuming the sovereign rank—Besides the above mentioned *jageers*, Lahore, Kasur, Sialkot, Wazirabad, Manchar and Gujarat, with an annual income, amounting to Rs. 55,00,000 in addition to the proprietary rights of all waste lands, forests, etc., and the lands, and also the *Mulkia* rights of the *jageer* villages.

(d) Of Maharajah Kharak Singh before being raised to the throne—Kalanaur, Narot, Fatehgarh, Numomur, Jalalabad Jattan, Sheikhupura and some villages in the vicinity of Pind Dadan Khan and other parts of the kingdom, with a total annual income of Rs. 12,40,000, and articles from Multan and Kashmir worth 3 lakhs annually.

(e) Of Prince Nau-Nihal Singh—Fatehgarh, Jund Bugdyal, some *pergannahs* near Peshawar, and some villages in other parts of the kingdom, with a total annual income of Rs. 4,30,000, and articles from Multan and Kashmir worth 2 lakhs.

Besides these estates, all the Maharanis of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his sons and grandson held separate *jageers*, which had been confiscated by the British Indian Government, with the exception of very small portions of lands and pensions left to their dependants and relatives.

Part II includes the immovable property in lands, gardens, wells, buildings, etc., inherited by Maharaja Duleep Singh in the villages of Waeen Pueen, Sukkar Chak, Majitha, Raja Sansi, Dalipgarh, Shahzadapura and the town of Gujranwala, with mausoleums of the Maharaja's ancestors, father, brothers, nephew and other relatives, and houses, gardens, etc., etc., in the cities of Lahore and Amritsar, and in the towns of Tarn Taran, Sheikhupura, Dinanagar and Fategarh.

Part III includes a list of the movable property in jewels, etc., worth over 24 lakhs belonging to the step-mothers of Maharaja Duleep Singh and to the issueless widows of his brothers and nephew, which should have been rightfully secured for him by his British guardians but which, through their negligence, if not with their connivance, had either been taken possession of by unauthorised persons or otherwise squandered away.

But Maharaja Duleep Singh and his solicitors do not seem to have been satisfied with the details of these estates and movable and immovable property. They were neither complete nor clear. Sardar Thakar Singh had only given a rough idea. He could not make a full enquiry. He was not in the good books of the Panjab Government and could not, therefore, have access to its official records. On several of the *jageers* he could give practically no information at all. And he had written to Maharaja Duleep Singh in his above quoted letter of November 9, 1883, that "A precise and full account of these *jageers* can be obtained from Deena Nath's Office, and from Government Secretariat. These *Jageers* were very large in amount."

It was at this time that Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State for India, in his letter of November 14, 1883, desired the Maharaja to specify more exactly than he had so far done the Estates to which he considered himself entitled. As the information supplied by Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhawalia, without any official documentary support, was not, perhaps, considered authenticated enough to stand the scrutiny of the hair-splitting legal and revenue experts, Messrs. Ferrar & Co., of Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, sent Mr. Talbot, a solicitor in their office, to India on behalf of Maharaja Duleep Singh to make fuller and more authenticated enquiry. Mr. Talbot's

enquiry, too, was limited by time at his disposal. He could visit the headquarters of only seven districts of the Panjab, viz., Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jehlum, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Lahore. "At each the revenue records of a number of villages selected from a list prepared beforehand were examined. If there had been more time, the Record Offices of other districts, such as Shahpur and Rawalpindi, would have been visited and the records of many more villages in each district examined."

The result of Mr. Talbot's enquiry were compiled into a "*STATEMENT as to the Ancestral Estates of the Maharajah Duleep Singh*" and accompanied the letter that His Highness wrote to Lord Kimberley on March 10, 1885.

Having briefly explained his title to the private estates, that he had inherited from his ancestors, in the first four paragraphs of this letter, he says :—

"As to these my private estates and property, I wish to point out to your Lordship that the British Government in taking possession of them must be held to have done so for my benefit, seeing that at that time they were my acknowledged guardians.

"In August 1847 the Governor-General of India wrote to the Resident of Lahore as follows :—

'The Governor-General is bound to be guided by the obligations which the British Government has contracted when it consented to be the Guardian of the Young Prince during his minority.'

"The statement of property now sent is not exhaustive as time at the disposal of my agent was limited, but I trust it may be considered sufficient for the purpose of proving that such property did exist.

"Moreover I desire to say that in presenting this statement as to my rights I do not wish to insist in pushing these rights to their extreme limit, on the contrary, as I have stated on other occasions, I shall be satisfied with such fair and equitable compensation as shall enable me to carry out my plan of living in England upon the landed property purchased in my name in Suffolk provided that I am placed in possession of a sufficient income to enable me to do so without pecuniary embarrassment and in conformity to the high position to which I was born and which was confirmed to me by the Treaty of Lahore in 1849 and again personally assured to me by Her Majesty the Queen when I first took up abode in this country,

and provided also that my eldest son and other children are secured in their just inheritance after my death."

- **HIS DIFFERENCES WITH THE GOVERNMENT:** (a) *regarding the confiscation of his private Estates and Property.* Having proved the existence of his private Estates and property at the time of the annexation of the kingdom of the Panjab to British Indian dominions in 1849, the Maharaja contended that the Government of India could not rightfully take possession of them, amalgamate them with the State territories or otherwise alienate them. They were the ancestral property of his father before he assumed the rank of kingship, and before the kingdom of Lahore came into existence. There was no mention of their confiscation in the Treaty of annexation. There are only two articles, 2 and 3, in that treaty which refer to the transfer of his property to the Government. Article 2 says that "All property of the State, of whatever description and wherever found, shall be confiscated to the Honourable East India Company in part payment of the debt due by the State of Lahore to the British Government and of the expenses of the war." The words "Property of the State" are quite significant and unambiguous. Out of the private property of the Maharaja, it was only the gem *Koh-i-Noor* that went to the Government and that too was surrendered by the Maharaja to the Queen and not confiscated or otherwise taken possession of by the Government. Article 3 clearly laid down that "the gem called the *Koh-i-Noor*, which was taken from Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk by Maharaja Runjeet Singh, shall be surrendered by the Maharaja of Lahore to the Queen of England."

"This shows that the *Koh-i-Noor*, and consequently also the other jewels and personal property of the Maharaja, were not considered to be state property. Notwithstanding this, with the exception of some of the value of £20,000 which he was permitted to take to Futtehgarh, and which were destroyed there in the Mutiny, the whole of the Maharaja's personal property and jewels of every description were taken possession of by the Government at annexation."

Writing to the Marquis of Salisbury, the Prime Minister of England, from Elvenden Hall, Thetford, Suffolk, on January 16, 1886, Maharaja Duleep Singh says :—

"This document makes no mention of a confiscation of any other property save that of the State. The inevitable result, therefore, is that all property not coming within this category is excluded from it—in other words, that it was not even contemplated by those who dictated the terms of my deposition

that my private manors or estates or jewels or personal property were to be touched. It may further be remembered that this result of the treaty is confirmed by the explicit provision made with reference to the destination of the *Koh-i-Noor*. "If it was designed to confiscate any of my other private possessions, the names of these would also surely have been set forth. Even supposing that the confiscation of my private property could be vindicated by this document, I ask your Lordship to consider the exceptional position of responsibility which the British Government had assumed to myself. They had made me their ward, and their ward I was to remain for five years after the treaty of 1849. They had already failed to secure for the Punjab the peace and order which they had guaranteed to maintain by the Treaties of 1846. The Second Sikh War, as it is incorrectly styled, placed me under no fresh obligation of any kind to England. On the contrary, that war was largely due to English remissness."

HIS DIFFERENCES WITH THE GOVERNMENT: (b) *regarding compensation for private Estates and property and the amount of pension payable to him.*

It is not possible to make an exact estimate of the value, nay even the annual income, of the ancestral estates of the Maharaja that he inherited from his father, brother and nephew and their *Maharanis*. Excluding the *jageers* of the *Maharanis*, Sardar Thakar Singh roughly estimated the annual income of the other *jageers* as 77 lakh and 70 thousand rupees. He gave no idea of the value of the immovable property mentioned in part III, he estimated the property of only two *Maharanis* at Rs. 7 Lakh and 50 thousand.

According to Mr. Talbot's statement, the annual income of the villages enumerated by him was Rs. 2,04,994, 8½ annas or £20,499-9-0, "and this would", says the introductory chapter to the Statement, "if the enquiry had been complete, have been raised to a very much larger sum. That of the salt mines is about 40 lakhs of rupees, or £40,000 per annum, and the Government valuation of the land in the possession of Government belonging to the ancient *Kutra* of Maha Singh at Amritsar is Rs. 78,949 or £7,894-18-0 (taking the rupee at 2 S. in each case). The value of other *Kutra* in the same city has not been ascertained."

On the subject of the Maharaja's movable property and jewels, other than what he was allowed to take to Fategarh (most of which was destroyed during the mutiny), Mr. Talbot directed an inquiry

to the Secretary to the Government of the Panjab, but no information was furnished to him. Mr. Talbot, therefore, omitted all reference to the subject, though the Maharaja did not relinquish his claim to such property.

Taking the lowest available figures of Rs. 42,05,000, per annum quoted by Mr. Talbot from the official records of the Panjab Government, about the correctness of which there can be no doubt whatever, the total amount which was due to Maharaja Duleep Singh and which went to the treasury of the British Indian Government year after year for 36 years from 1849, when the Panjab was annexed, to 1885 when the Maharaja submitted his claim, works out to Rs. 15,13,80,000 or £15,138,000.

Added to this was the amount realised by the Government of India, by the sale of jewels and other property belonging to Maharaja Duleep Singh which were put up to auction by Messrs. Lattey Brothers and Mr. J. Hayes at Lahore in the years 1850 and 1851. After much search, in vain, in several quarters, the Maharaja was able to get copies of the catalogues of only two sales. Of these the first is headed "Catalogue of the Seventh Public Sale," so that there must have been six previous sales, the second, two months afterwards, appears to be the final sale.

No record had been found of the sum of money realised by these sales. "and it is not possible at this distance of time, and with only two out of several catalogues to refer to, to ascertain, even approximately, the value of the property thus sold, but it is evident that it must have been enormous. The only facts obtained as to the prices realized by the sales are that 95 items of the second catalogue realized Rs. 1,39,287. There are 952 items in this catalogue, so that it seems probable that the whole purchase-money amounted to upwards of Rs. 10,00,000, or £ 100,000. As there were, at least, seven other sales, it would not be very extravagant to put the whole sum realized by the property at half a million of money.

"It is hardly necessary to observe that it is highly improbable that sales by auction at.....Lahore could have realized the full value of property of valuable nature, especially as so many sales were held in so short a time.

"Independently of the money value, it may well be asked what right the British Government could have to dispose of historical heirlooms belonging to the Maharajah, who was its ward, whilst he was an infant, without even asking his consent, considering the exceptional interest he would have subsequently experienced in

the possession of his father's portrait and personal accoutrements when he came to years of responsibility and full maturity."

The grand total of the amounts due to Maharaja Duleep Singh up to March 31, 1885, comes to at least Rs. 15,63,80,000, or £ 15,638,000.

But inspite of all this, the Government gave no compensation to Maharaja Duleep Singh. It was only for his loss at Fategarh during the Mutiny that the Government offered an amount of £ 3,000, which he refused to accept.

Now about the amount of pension payable to him. Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore of March 29, 1849, had provided that "His Highness Duleep Singh shall receive from the Honorable East India Company, for the support of himself, his relatives and servants of the State, a pension of not less than four, and not exceeding five lakhs of Company's rupees per annum."

The payments actually made to the Maharaja were as follows :

From 1849 to 1856	..	£ 12,000 per annum.
1856 to 1858	..	£ 15,000 ..
1858 onwards	..	£ 25,000 ..

Besides the payments to the Maharaja, allowances to relatives or dependents to the extent of about £ 18,000 (at the commencement) were made by the Government and debited to the Maharaja. These allowances began in 1849 and were continued during the lives of the recipients. As each recipient died off, his allowance, of course, ceased, so that in 1859 the annual amount paid appears to have been reduced to about £ 15,000 and dwindled rapidly. According to Maharaja Duleep Singh's estimate in January 1886, "the amount paid is not more than £ 4,000 or £ 5,000 per annum." He claimed that the undisbursed balance, which went to the Government exchequer and accumulated there, belonged to him and should be placed at his disposal. The Government on the other hand contended that he was entitled only to such a portion of the pension as was allotted to himself personally as mentioned in article V of the Treaty of March 29, 1849.

The Government, however, indirectly accepted the contention of the Maharaja, as when, in 1862, the Government advanced to the Maharaja "a sum for the purchase of an estate, the advance was not in excess of the Government savings." But there was a change for the worse after that, and the Maharaja had to pay interest at the rate of 4 and 5 per cent on advances made to him

later on, for the purchase of property in Suffolk. But the Maharaja felt worst hit and most unjustly treated when Government decided that no son of his would inherit the Elveden (Suffolk) Estate and that his settled estates were to be sold free and money divided amongst his children. And in the words of the Maharaja, "the only allowance reserved for my widow and children is to come out of the money realized by the sale of my estates in England, of my insurance moneys, and of the sum of £ 72,000 East India Stock." (*Vide* Maharaja Duleep Singh to Lord Salisbury, January 16, 1886).

After referring to the respect and honour, and greatest kindness that he received from Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and the admission of the justice of his claims by the highest representatives of the British State, Maharaja Duleep Singh thus concludes his lengthy letter of January 16, 1886, to the Marquis of Salisbury :—

" All this has led to no satisfactory result in my favour in a material sense ; and I find myself now compelled, in consequence of the insufficiency of my income, to break up my home, interrupt the education of my children and to leave England.

" Not to weary your Lordship by a longer recital of my grievances, I will come to the object of this letter in a few words.

" There are wrongs which can and those which cannot be remedied.

" I do not aspire to be reinstated on the throne of the Punjab.

" I do not even expect the realization of the whole of what I consider my just claims.

" Moreover, I am not now asking your Lordship to admit any of my claims, though it has been necessary for me to explain them to your Lordship to make my meaning clear.

" I know also that your Lordship, not being now the Secretary of State for India (though you formerly held that office) is not in a position to deal with a question of finance belonging to that department.

" But I address your Lordship as the Prime Minister of this great country in a matter which was considered at one time to be of national importance, and which concerns the honour of the parties concerned.

"If the subject of my complaint were a difference between private individuals, it could be settled in the law courts, but being a matter of State, I am advised that the courts of this country are not open to me."

"I ask your Lordship, therefore, to exert the influence and authority of your high position to provide some machinery for examining and dealing with my claims, and putting them in train for equitable settlement. It cannot, I venture to think, be more satisfactory of your Lordship's mind than it is to my own that the Government should remain under the imputation of having arbitrarily deprived even an individual no more important than myself of his rights, without inquiry and without redress.

"A fair and honest inquiry, by the highest legal authorities in your Lordship's House, I think, is due to me, especially as to the residue of the pension over and above the £ 25,000 a year paid to me, which has now lapsed, and should be paid over to me (as a very high legal authority thinks after reading the Treaty very carefully).

"I need not say that I court the fullest legal investigation and should much desire a decision by a Court of Arbitration consisting of the eminent Law Lords of the House of Peers.

"I shall be willing to be bound by the equitable award of such a Court if they take my whole case into their consideration, and to accept it as a satisfactory termination of all my differences, even if it should turn out to be unfavourable to my expectations.

"I make this last appeal to your Lordship before finally taking leave of this country."

The Marquis of Salisbury set up no Court of Arbitration in response to the appeal of Maharaja Duleep Singh, and the Foreign Office sent to him the following reply on January 25, 1886 :—

"Sir,—I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to inform you that he has carefully considered the memorandum which you were good enough to place in his hands, and also the printed book which he herewith returns. He regrets very much that he is not in a position to accede to the request with which your memorandum concludes.

"Subject to any appeal to a court of law which you may be advised is open to you, the disposal of all questions involving any charge upon Indian finances is placed by Act of Parliament

in the hands of the Secretary of State for India and the Council of India, and cannot be assumed by any other authority.

"The determination of the question raised by you with respect to the meaning of the Treaty entered into by Lord Dalhousie thirty years ago, and import of the words "Property of the State" used upon that occasion, could not be satisfactorily arrived at by any authority in this country even if there was one which, under existing law, possessed the necessary competence, and I have no doubt that the Secretary of the State and his Council have both the power and the wish to arrive at a just decision in regard to these controverted matters."

Restrictions on his residence in India. But the Secretary of State for India he had already tried. There was no hope of justice left for him. Disappointed and helpless, he ultimately decided to leave for India. But while the Government of England allowed him to break up his home and wind up his affairs in that country, the doors of his mother country were closed at him and he was not allowed to enter it by the British Government in India. The restrictions placed on the residence of Maharaja Duleep Singh in India have a history of their own dating back to 1849. Article V of the Treaty of annexation had laid down that "His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour, and shall retain the title of Maharajah Duleep Singh Bahadoor, and he shall continue to receive during his life such portion of the above named pension as may be allotted to himself personally, provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government, and shall reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select." The Maharaja had not yet completed the ninth year of his age and his mother, Maharani Jind Kaur, was removed from Lahore and confined in the fort of Sheikupura on Ehodon 5, 1904 Bk., August 19, 1847. Nine months later, in May 1848, she was removed from the fort of Sheikupura to the fort of Chunar (in the district of Mirzapur) near Benares. Within nine months after the annexation of his dominions to British India, Maharaja Duleep Singh himself was exiled from the Panjab on December 21, 1849, and taken to Fategarh in the district of Farukhabad, U. P. While yet a minor, he left for England in April 1854.

The Maharaja wished to return to India in October, 1857. He, therefore, addressed a letter to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company on December 9, 1856, saying :—

"Gentlemen,—Having now attained an age at which, according to the Laws of India, I am entitled to assume the

management of my own affairs, and being anxious before my intended departure for India in October next to have everything relating to my future position clearly defined and settled, I have to request the favour of you, at your earliest convenience, to bring the subject to the notice of the Honourable Court of Directors. * * * *

"There are, nevertheless, certain restrictions as to residence imposed upon me by treaty which, however prudent at the time, are now, in my altered circumstances, felt to be irksome...."

To this the Secretary, Mr. James C. Melvill, replied on February 19, 1857, as follows :—

"I am commanded to state in reply that the Court have observed with great satisfaction the excellent disposition manifested by your Highness during your stay in England, and are prepared to relieve you from all restriction as to residence."

But the mutiny of 1857 upset his plans.

In 1860 Maharaja Duleep Singh came to India to seek his mother, who had escaped from her captivity in the fort of Chunar to Nepal and had been permitted to meet her son. The mother and son met after thirteen long years. The Maharani had suffered much and her health was hopelessly impaired. She had become almost blind, not from age, as she was only forty-three then, but from ill-health aggravated by grief and disappointment. The Maharaja wished to stay with her in India for some time. He could not do so. Even the Maharani was not permitted to reside in India. The Government of India refused to restore her private property, chiefly in jewels, which was in their hands, unless she chose a place out of India for her residence. Ceylon was mentioned as the nearest place which would be permitted. This caused the Maharaja to return to England, with his mother who would not separate from him.

Maharani Jind Kaur died on August 1, 1863. She had been a fond and faithful mother to him, and he sincerely lamented her loss. In fulfilment of her last wishes "not to allow her bones to rot in a heartless country (*merīān haddiān is nirdāi dhartī 'ch nā rul jān*)", the Maharaja wished to come home to return her dust to the dust of India. In reply to his request of January 9, 1864, for permission, he was told by the India Office, London, on January 13, that "on your arrival in India it will be necessary that you should regulate your movements in conformity with the wishes and instructions of His Excellency the Viceroy, which will be communicated to you, in the first instance, through the Governor of Bombay." The

Maharaja was helpless. He was not allowed to come to the Panjab to perform the obsequies of his mother. He, therefore, cremated her body, which he had brought all the way from England at great expense, at Nasik, on the left bank of the Godavari, and returned to England.

In 1882, the Maharaja, as we know, wished to visit India to collect information regarding his private estates, and he wrote to the Marquis of Hartington on July 21, saying :—

“I presume, as I am now a naturalised Englishman, there is no legal difficulty to my returning to the Punjab, either to get information regarding my private landed estates, &c., or to reside there altogether.”

In reply the Marquis of Hartington in his letter of October 23, 1882, not only repeated the restrictions of January 13, 1864, but added “that it is improbable that permission will be accorded you to visit the Punjab.”

In the summer of 1883, the Maharaja finally decided to leave England for good. He had lost all faith in the British Government both in England and India. He had become a naturalised Englishman and he had been relieved “from all restriction as to residence” by the Court of Directors of the East India Company on whose behalf the treaty of 1849 had been entered into with him by Lord Dalhousie who had imposed the restriction. Yet he was condemned to perpetual banishment from his mother country. The resistance of the British Government to his desire intensified his wish not only to return to the land of his birth but also to the faith of his ancestors.

“On August 23, 1884, he announced his departure for India, as he could not otherwise undergo all the rights of re-initiation as a Sikh.” If he continued to stay on for some time more and placed his claims before the Earl of Kimberley, the Secretary of State for India, and the Marquis of Salisbury, the Prime Minister of England, in his despatches of March 10, 1885, and January 16, 1886, respectively, it was evidently to exhaust all constitutional means available to him for an equitable settlement of his differences before quitting the land of his adoption.

On April 21, 1885, the Maharaja begged of Lord Kimberley “to inform the Government of India that it is my intention to join the British army as a volunteer, should unfortunately a war break out between England and Russia. I am determined not to be deterred from this resolve (unless physical force is employed by

the India Government), and to convince the British nation that, however unjustly treated, I am at heart loyal to my gracious Sovereign." However, the Maharaja did not pursue the subject "as fortunately the threatened war seems to be averted for the present. I desire to inform your Lordship and the Council of the India Board, that I am by no means prepared to give up my rights as a British subject, or to submit to any restrictions upon my movements, either here or in India, or any other portion of Her Majesty's dominions.

"My present wish and intention is to sell my estates in Suffolk, for the reasons already stated to Her Majesty's Government, and to take up my residence at Delhi, retiring to the Hills in the hot season."

Writing to Lord Randolph Churchill at the India Office on October 7, 1885, the Maharaja told him "I am leaving England for my position here has become untenable owing to various reasons, in order to provide my family with such a home in India as shall not be sold at my death."

On the same day the Maharaja wrote to his cousin, Sardar Sant Singh of Aima, Amritsar district, saying "I shall leave England on the 16th of December next and take up my residence quietly at Delhi for I am poor now.....As you are aware by this time that I have rejoined the faith of my ancestors, I salute you with *Wah-Gooroo jee dee Futteh.*"

But as Lord Churchill also had required him in his letter of October 15 to obey the orders of the Viceroy regarding his residence, the Maharaja, on October 20, desired "to be informed whether force will be employed to compel me to reside wherever the Viceroy of India shall appoint, and prevent my travelling without His Excellency's permission, or whether my freedom and rights as a British subject are under the protection of law, and what would be the consequences of my refusal to comply with the arbitrary dictates of the Viceroy or of His Majesty's Government." In reply he was informed by Lord Churchill on October 26 that it rested with the Viceroy of India.

Fearing lest the British Government should be suspecting his object in returning to India, the Maharaja again wrote to Lord Churchill on November 2, 1885 :—

"I further desire to state that....my object in leaving England is to provide such a home for my descendants as will not be sold after my death, and by economy and other modes

to make the best provision I can for them, during my life, with the resources at my disposal, and that on reaching Bombay I will proceed to Delhi with that intention, leaving it to His Excellency the Viceroy to employ force, if he thinks proper to do so, in order to prevent my travelling to that city.

"But it does not say much for the supposed stability of the British Raj when the Government think it necessary to impose restrictions on the movements of such as I, who neither possess any army nor money to cause any trouble with."

On November 30, Lord Churchill informed the Maharaja that the Government of India required him to reside at Ootacamund or some other place in the Madras Presidency, "and that Your Highness will not be permitted to visit the Punjab."

The Maharaja had an interview with the Earl of Kimberley on February 8, 1886, and assured him, as he confirmed it in his letter of the 10th, that "My sole object in returning to India is to lay by money for my family, while myself fully enjoying the comforts I have been accustomed to all my life, and Delhi presents the best field for the purpose." But nothing could make the British Government in India to take a humane and sympathetic view of the helplessness of Maharaja Duleep Singh, once the Sovereign of the Panjab and a ward of theirs. And ultimately, much against his will, but in the interest of his family for whom he was prepared to make every sacrifice, he consented to live at Ootacamund.

On March 9, he wrote the following letter to his cousin, Sardar Sant Singh of Aima :—

"My dear Sardar jee, Wah Gooroo jee dee Futteh. I am very pleased to receive your letter, but I advise you not to come near me without permission of Government as you might get into trouble with the authorities.

"I intend to leave England with my family on the 31st of this month, but it is possible a little longer delay may occur.

"I need not tell you how pleased I shall be (if the Government permits) for you to be present at my receiving 'powhl' which I trust my cousin Thakar Singh Sindhanwalia will administer to me.

"I am now longing to return to India although Government are afraid to let me reside in the North West Provinces and desire me to live at Ootacamund, but I put my faith entirely in Sutgooroo who, now that I return to him for forgiveness, I know, will not forsake me."

His next available letter that he wrote before sailing for India is addressed to his 'beloved countrymen', the people of the Panjab. It reads as follows :—

" My beloved countrymen,

It was not my intention ever to return to reside in India, but Sutgooroo, who governs all destiny, and is more powerful than I, his erring creature, has caused circumstances to be so brought about that, against my will, I am compelled to quit England in order to occupy a humble sphere in India. I submit to His will, being persuaded that whatever is for the best will happen.

" I now, therefore, beg forgiveness of you, *Khalsa Jee* or the Pure, for having forsaken the faith of my ancestors for a foreign religion, but I was very young when I embraced Christianity.

" It is my fond desire on reaching Bombay to take the *Pahul* again, and I sincerely hope for your prayers to the Sutgooroo on that solemn occasion.

" I am compelled to write this to you because I am not permitted to visit you in the Punjab, as I had much hoped to do.

" Truly a noble reward for my unswerving loyalty to the Empress of India ! But *Sutgooroo's* will be done.

" With *Wah Gooroo Kee Futteh*,

I remain,
My beloved countrymen,
your own flesh and blood,
Duleep Singh."

His arrest at Aden. The Viceroy, it appears, had no intention of allowing Maharaja Duleep Singh to return to India and reside here. The talk of restrictions on his movements was only a ruse to dissuade him from his intended departure from England. But as he could not otherwise be thwarted, he was arrested and detained at Aden and was ordered to go back.

The Maharaja was very furious at the insult put on him. He threw in the face of the British Government the pension he had hitherto drawn, left his wife and children in their hands to support, and abjured his allegiance to the British Crown. On his way back to Europe he issued a statement to the press wherein, among other things, he said :—

"Although I am a naturalised Englishman, yet I was arrested at Aden without a warrant, one having been issued since I re-embraced Sikhism while staying at Aden. Before quitting England, the Indian Government in great trepidation offered me £ 50,000 in full discharge of all claims upon it, provided I promised never to return to India, but I declined this offer as I would not accept £ 50,000 to give a receipt in full. My health having broken down through residence at Aden, I am now travelling on my way back to Europe in order to drink the German waters. Although the Indian Government succeeded in preventing me from reaching Bombay lately, yet they are not able to close all the roads that there are to India, for when I return I can either land at Goa or Pondicherry, or if I fancy an over-land route, then I can enter the Punjab through Russia. In that event, I suppose the whole of the British army would be sent out, as well as the assistance of our ally, the Ameer, invoked to resist the coming of a single individual, viz., myself. What a wonderful spectacle : The Tax-payer of India, no doubt, will be glad that I have resigned the miserable stipend paid to me under that iniquitous treaty of annexation which was extorted from me by my guardian when I was a minor, thus setting aside the illegal document entirely. As soon as I am restored to health, I hope to appeal for pecuniary aid to the Oriental liberality of both my brother princes as well as the people of India. Should, however, the Government place its veto upon their generous impulse, then I shall have no alternative but to transfer my allegiance to some other European power, who I dare say will provide for my maintenance."

For over seven years after his return to Europe Maharaja Duleep Singh looked in vain for some European power to help him, and, ultimately, died as an exile in Paris on October 22, 1893.

Sri Madhwāchārya, 1238-1318 A.D.

BY

S. HANUMANTHA RAO,

Hyderabad.

Sri Madhwāchārya was the founder of one of the three important schools of philosophical thought in south India, the other two being Sri Sankarāchārya and Sri Rāmānujāchārya. Sri Madhwa claims to be the incarnation of Vāyu, the son of God. He quotes 3 verses of the Rig Veda and shows how they refer to the three forms of Vāyu, viz. Hanumān, Bhīma and Madhwa. In his first form of Hanumān, he stands near the throne of Rāma and fulfills all his commands and carries the message of Rāma to Sīta. In his second form of Bhīma, he destroys the satanic hosts and fights with evil. In his third form of wisdom as Pūrṇa Prajna or Ānanda Tīrtha, he produced infinite wisdom. Vayu in his incarnation as Madhwa reveals the concealed Lord.

Baļithā tadvapushedhāyi darśatam devasya bhargah sahaso yato
Jani | yadeemupahwarate sādhate matīrtasya Dhenā anayanta sas-
rutah | Pruksho vapuh pitumān nitya āśaye dwitīyamā saptā śivāsu
mātrushu | Trutiya masya vṛushabhabhya dohase daśapramatim
Janayanta Yoshanah | niryadīm budhnān mahishasya varpasa
Iśānāsaḥ śavasā kranta sūrayah | yadīmanupradivo madhwa
ādhave guhā santam mātarīsvā mathāyati || Rig. I. 141. 1. Quoted
from P. 589 Chandogya, Sacred Books of the Hindus, Vol. 3. Ed.
B. D. Basu, Allahabad, 1910.

The magnetic influence exercised by Sri Madhwa on his contemporaries is illustrated by the hymn, known as Vāyu stuti, composed by one of his disciples, Trivikrama Panditāchārya, where Sri Madhwa is addressed as mother, father, unique preceptor, brother, beloved, refuge and guide and his help is sought for the bestowal of uninterrupted and disinterested love towards God and Guru. (Master and Preceptor).

Mātarme mātarisvam pitaratulaguro bhrātarishtāpta bandho ---
govinde dēhi bhaktim bhavaticha bhagawan ūrjithām nirnimittām
niśchalām ---- (Vāyustuti).

Nārāyana Pandithāchārya, son of Trivikrama, produced an inimitable work, the biography of his master, known as Madhwa

Vijaya. The first chapter briefly describes the work done by Hanumān and Bhīma and points out, that vāyu appears in the form of Madhwa, to give a correct interpretation of the Vedas ; to prove that the world is real, that God Vāsudeva is full of attributes and that difference is real.

Viśwam mithyā vibhuragunavānatmanām nāsti bhedo ---- Ānandā-dyairguru guṇa gaṇaiḥ pūrito vāsudevo mandam mandam manasi-cha satām hanta nūnam tirobhūt. Verse 55. Sarga I.

The name of Sri Madhwa's father was Madhyageha Bhatta. He devoutedly prayed God Ananteswara of Udipi, for a son, who will be capable of raising the fathers to the higher worlds.

Trāta ya eva narakāt sahi putra nāmā. verse 17, sarga II.

In course of time, a son was born and was named Vāsudeva. At an early age, the upanayanam was performed and the young Sri Madhwa made remarkable progress in his studies, going through the Aitareya Upanishad with his teacher. Soon he resolved to become a sanyāsi, went out to seek a guru and met Achyutapreksha.

samastha sanyāsa nibaddha niśchayah. verse 4. sarga IV.

The parents of Sri Madhwa tried to induce their son to change his mind. The conversation between father and son is well described in verses 22 and 23 of sarga IV.

Na putra pitro ravanam vinā śubham vadanti santo nanu tau sutau mṛitau | nivartamāne nahipālakostinau twayeeti vaktāramamum sutobravit || verse 22.

The father asks the son if it is not his duty to protect the parents. The son makes a spirited reply. Where one has gained complete disattachment, sanyāsa is the only path for him. To him who has failed to attain disattachment, the chief duty is to serve his parents. yadāviraktah purushaḥ prajāyate tadaiva sanyāsa vidhiḥ śrutau śruthaḥ | nasanga hīnepi parivrajāmivā mahamtu śuśrushu makal-payanniti || verse 23.

There was a long period of struggle. Within a year, another son was born to his parents and they reconciled themselves to the firm resolve of Sri Madhwa.

After ordination, Sri Madhwa came to be known as Ānanda Tīrtha and Poorna Bodha. In learned disputations he won victories over scholars, like Vāsudeva.

Ānanda rūpasya parasya pātradhidhīrānanda sandāyi su śāstra krutsayat | ānandatīrtheti padam gurūditam babhū va tasyātyanu rūpa rūpakam || verse 2. sarga V.

As Sri Madhwa successfully removed the doubts of the opposing schools of thought, he came to be known as Anumāna Tīrtha. Buddhist scholars, like Vādisimha and Buddhisāgara were successfully defeated in dialectic. He toured round the whole of South India, including Trivandrum and Rameswaram and large crowds gathered to see the new teacher. They were struck with his personality, his smiling countenance, his lotus-like eyes, golden-hued body, and inspiring words. He was like an ornament to the world.

susmitēndu maravinda lōchanam swarṇa varṇa matibhadra bhāṣhaṇam | vītabhushamapi viśwa bhūṣhaṇam tam didrukshuralamāpa tajjanaḥ. verse 51. sarga V.

After the southern tour, Sri Madhwa returned to Uḍipi and made a resolution to go on a pilgrimage to Badari in the Himalayas. He wrote a commentary on the Bhagawat Gita and wished to dedicate it to God Vedavyāsa at Badari. His crossing the sacred river Ganjes is well described in Vāsudevapada santata sangī tejasāpyala madhah kṛitaśarvah Atyavartata nitānta mathāsau Gāṅga moghanāśana keerthih || verse 36, sarga VI.

Assuming perfect silence and strict fast, Sri Madhwa entered the monastery of the Lord, with a pure mind.

kāṣṭamauna madadhādupavāsam śuddha mapyakruta śuddha hrudiechan | nityatushta haritosha viśesham chintayan prabhu manantha mathāntah. verse 44. sarga VI.

After a few days of silent prayer and purification, he proceeded further all alone to the abode of Sri Vedavyāsa, leaving behind all his disciples, with this message.

Nedruśam sthalamalam śamalaghnam nāsyā tīrtha salila sya samam-vāḥ | nāsti vishnu sadruśam nanu daivam nāsma duktī sadruśam hitarūpam || verse 47, sarga VI.

There is no place that is more sacred than this to purify us, there is no water more sacred than that of the Ganjes, there is no god superior to Vishnu, there is no message other than mine that will give you lasting peace.

The seventh chapter begins with a beautiful description of the hermitage of Vedavyāsa in the Himālayās. The sages notice the arrival of Sri Madhwa. He has the 32 characteristics of a Mahāpurusha. Dvyadhika trimśa dudāra lakshanam, verse 5. Kanakātulatāla san-nibhah kamalāksho vimalendu san mukhah | Gajarājagatirmahā-bhujah pratiyānkoyamapūrvapūrushah || verse 6. Atiśānta vapu-niśākarah swayamekānta kharo divākaraḥ | verse 7. Paramāśramiṇām gatasramo nanu chinhāni bibharti dhiradhiḥ || verse 8. He is golden hued, tall and well-proportioned, lotus-eyed, smiling in

countenance, wearing the garb of a sanyāsi. As he entered the hermitage, he witnessed the gathering of sages, who had conquered pride, anger and desire and in their midst, Vedavyāsa, the son of Sathyavathi.

Apimanyu madādi varjitān gatabhōgān pavanāśanān sadā. verse 15, sarga VII.

Sri Madhwa was overpowered with ecstatic joy, when he stood face to face, before the divine Master, Vedavyāsa, and in conformity with the rule, that one should contemplate the form of the Master, from toe to tuft, praises Vedavyāsa, in 20 verses. Āpāda maulī paryantam gurūṇām ākritim smaret. Absorbed in that contemplation he prostrated at the feet of the Master, who lifted the pupil and embraced him with joy. Gurubhakti bharā natākriti rvirachayyānjali bandha manjasā | Kṣaṇamāmukulī krute kṣaṇah sagurum kevalamabhyavandata || verse 49. Vinayabharanena bhūshitaḥ sphuta mashtāṅga viśishta cheshtitah | Bhagavattama pādapankaje bhagavān sapra ḥanāma bhagyavān || verse 50. Amitapramatim śrutiśwar ah parirebhe parigruhya tam drutam | pranayāmrita pūrṇamānasah smitha vaktrah pariphulla lochanah. v. 52. Having witnessed the affectionate reception given to Sri Madhwa by their Master, the sages at Badari offered him a seat. Sri Vedavyāsa and Sri Madhwa shone brilliantly by their sweet discourses. Satjnānāyānanda vijnāna mūrthī prāptam prithvī māśrametatra tāvat | Jājwalyete vishnu vāyusma devan vedavyāsānanda tīrthā bhidānau. verse 59. sarga VII.

The eighth chapter describes the visit to the shrine of Sri Narāyana. Sri Madhwa praises the several avathārās of God. All of them are full of bliss. They are not subject to change. Paramātmane satatamekarūpiṇe dasarūpiṇe śatasahasrarūpiṇe | avikāriṇe sphuṭamanantarūpiṇe sukha chitsamasta tanave namo namah || verse 41. sarga VIII.

Sri Madhwa receives instructions to compose a commentary on the Brahma sutras and resolves to carry out the wishes of the masters. Matamityavetya mahitam mahato rabhidhāya bāḍha miti dhīramatiḥ | anayorniyōga madhirōpitavān swa śirasya nanya suvaham pranaman. verse 53. sarga VIII.

The essential teaching of Sri Madhwa's commentary on the Brahma sutras is given in verse 8, sarga IX.

Vyāsa deva hrudayāti vallabham vāsudeva maganeyā sadgunam | Sādhayat sakala dosha varjitam Jnāna bhakti mananta sauκhyadām || Sri Nārāyana is full of innumerable attributes, free from all faults and is the source of eternal happiness, to those who seek Him with jnāna and bhakti (knowledge and devotion). Sri Madhwa

claims to have refuted 21 previous commentaries. Yekavimśati kubhāshya dūshakam, verse 12. Satya Tīrtha, one of the favourite disciples of Sri Madhwa was the scribe. Satyatīrtha iha bhāshya mālikhat. verse 13.

Sri Madhwa returned to South India, through Bengal and Andhra. Sāhugo vividha bhūratītya Godāvari tātāmagāda lēsadhiḥ || verse 14. On the banks of the Godāvari, Sri Madhwa met Pandit Śōbhana Bhatta and converted him to his faith. Later on, Śōbhana became Padmanābha Tīrtha and succeeded to the Madhwa pontificate. When Sri Madhwa returned to Udipi from this tour, his teacher Achyuta preksha was impressed with his pupil's commentary on the Brahma sutras. Vāriśāradamiva prasāda vacchitta machyuta materbhruśam babhau | verse 36. Ānananda sahi madhwa śāstra makarṇayan kusamayāgrahī purā 37.

The most important event of this period was the installation of the image of Sri Krishna at Udipi. The Madhwa Vijaya, verse 41, sarga IX, describes how the image was enveloped in a clod of earth (Gopi Chandana) and was in a ship that stranded on the sea-shore near Udipi. Expecting its arrival, Sri Madhwa went to the sea-shore, composing a hymn, in praise of Sri Krishna. The size of the image is 2½ feet in height and is in a standing position, holding a churning rod in the right hand. Sri Madhwa infused lustre in the image, by his power of concentration. sparśanāt bhagavatōtipāvanāt sannidhāna padatāmgatām hareḥ Mandahāsa mrudu sundarānanam nanda nandana matindriyākrutim || 42, 43. Sundaram saha sanya-dhāpa yadvandya mākruti śuchi pratishtayā. 43. The twelve hymns, composed by Sri Madhwa on this occasion, are known as the Dwā-dasa stotra and contain the essence of the teachings of Sri Madhwa. He appeals to his followers to perform their allotted duty in their respective stations in life and enjoy the fruits thereof, with the unswerving faith, that God is the doer, the master, father, mother and guide. Kuru bhunkshwa cha karmanijam niyatam haripāda vinamradhiyā satatam | hari rēva paro harirēva gururhari rēva Jagat pitru mātru gatiḥ || verse 1, Adhyaya 3. Dwadāsa Stotra. With uplifted hands, he exclaims that there is none greater than Hari or none equal to Hari. śrunutāmala satyavachah paramam śapatheritamucchrita bāhu yugam | na hareḥ paramo nahareḥ sadruśaḥ paramaḥ satu sarva chidātmagaṇaḥ || 411. Immersed in the contemplation of the Divine, he gradually forgets himself and in blessed communion with the Infinite, pours forth an impassioned appeal and exclaims, Ānanda mukunda aravinda nayana Ānanda Tīrtha parānanda Varada, verse 1, Adhyāya 12. O Joy, O, Giver of bliss, O Thou of gracious looks, I bow to Thee. He spreads this devotional fervour to all his followers, whom he appeals to come and join

in the worship of Sri Krishna. Nanda tīrthoru sannamino nandinas-sandadhānāssadānanda deve matim | mandahasā runāpāṅga dattō-natim nandithā śesha devādi vrundam sadā || verse 12, Adhyāya 8. How well does this coincide with the teaching of Sri Krishna in the Gita, Chapter XVIII, verses 65 and 66.

Manmanā bhava madbhakto madyāji mām namaskuru Māmevai-shyasi satyam te pratijāne priyosi me sarvadharmaṇ parityajya mā-mekam saranam vraja. Sri Madhwa explains these verses in his Gita Tātparya, sarvottamatva Jñānapūrvam tatra manah sadā, sar-vādhika prema yukttm sarvasyātra samarpaṇam, akhandā trivi dha-pūjā tadratyāiva swabhāvataḥ, rakshatītyaiva viśwāsastadīyōhamiti smritih, śaraṇagati reshāsyā dvishnau moksha phala pradeti. To set the mind on Him with the clear perception of His supremacy, to love Him above all other things, to surrender everything to Him, to worship Him without interruption, from natural delight in Him, to have faith in Him as the real protector, to constantly remember that I belong to Him.

One of the most important reforms connected with the name of Sri Madhwa was the abolition of the practice of killing animals at religious sacrifices. In spite of the attempts of Buddha and Mahāvira to stop the killing of animals, for propitiating the gods, the system continued as part of Hindu ceremonialism. Sri Madhwa strongly objected to it. The performance of sacrifices was not given up but in place of the living animal, an artificial animal, made of wheat flour, was introduced as a substitute. The Madhwa Vijaya, verse 44, sarga IX, makes mention of the reformed ceremonial and the opposition from a priest of the old school, Jarāghatita.

After spending sometime at Udipi, Sri Madhwa started on a second pilgrimage to Northern India. The description of the journey in sarga X, is valuable for the light it throws on the political and social conditions in the Deccan and Northern India, in the second half of the 13th century, A.D. Iswara Deva, mentioned in verse 4, sarga X, is identified with King Mahadeva of Devagiri, 1262-1271 A.D. The difficulties of travel and the extraction of forced labour, from travellers are evident from the incidents, described in verses 4 to 6. Kvachid iśvara deva mesha bhūpam khananam pān-tha janam vidhāpayantam | svamapi pratichodayantamūche...v. 4. That Sri Madhwa impressed on the mind of the ruler, his mistake in not recognising the greatness of the person, from whom he tried to exact forced labour, is well expressed in Nāne nāne nēnā nēnō nūnē nananu nunnāḥ nānā nānō nūnam nānē nānū nānā nunnāḥ | v. 6. The ruler was humbled in his pride and made to realise the greatness of Sri Madhwa, (Vayu) who is faultless, the best of jivas,

the chief of Prānās, the director of all jivas, the controller of all except Lakshmi and Nārāyana, who alone are superior to him.

The journey was a difficult one. The party had to encounter thieves and robbers in the way. They had to cross the river Ganjes. Verses 10 to 20 in sarga X, describe the difficulties of the pilgrim party, the conversation between Sri Madhwa and the ruler of the locality, with whom Sri Madhwa was able to speak in the language of the ruler and how the ruler, convinced of their peaceful mission, offered them landed estates which were rejected. Balban was the Sultan of Delhi and the references may be to Balban himself or to one of his muslim officers. Yāmastāvaitūrnāma śā mudīcī mityā-dyant adbhāshayā chitra vākyam. 17. It was during this visit to Badarī, in the Himalayas, that the most popular work of Sri Madhwa, the Mahabharata Tātparya nirnaya, the epitome of the Mahabharata was commenced. The fundamentals of Sri Madhwa's philosophy are summarised in the Introductory chapters.

There is only one supreme Lord Narayana. No other is equal to Him. He alone is to be contemplated always. Nāsti Nārāyana samam na bhūtam na bhavishyati. v. 69 Adhy. II. Dhyeyo nārāyanah sadā. v. 72. Release is obtained only through an intense attachment to the Lord surpassing all other attachments, an attachment resulting from the knowledge of His greatness. Māhātmya jnāna pūrvastu sudrudāḥ sarvathōdhikāḥ | sneho bhakti rithi prōktastayā muktirnachānyathā. verse 86, Adhy. I. Gifts, pilgrimages, penance, sacrifice and all other meritorious acts are only aids to worship. Devotion alone leads to final release. Dāna tīrtha tapo yajna poorvāḥ sarvepi sarvadā | angāni hari sevāyām bhakti stvekā vimuktaye. verse 100. In the system of Sri Madhwa, great importance is attached to the Guru or preceptor, who alone will enable one to obtain realisation. Yasya deve parā bhaktiryadhā deve tatha gurau. v. 105. The Guru is one, who having no doubts, is able to clear the doubts of others. Asaṁsayāḥ samsayatchidgururukto, v. 124. (English translation, B. Gururaja Rao, Bangalore, 1941.)

After a long and successful tour in Northern India, Sri Madhwa returned to Udipi, through the country of Hrishikesh, Ishupāta kshetra and Goa. verses 50, 51, 52, sarga X.

The 54th verse of sarga X, is a riddle verse, known as chakra-bandha. The riddle letters give the name of the book and that of its author, in two circles of six letters each, Madhwa Vijayākhyam,

1 2 3 4 5 6

Nārāyana Kāvyam.

1 2 3 4 5 6

The eleventh chapter gives a beautiful description of heaven, but even the pleasures of heaven are spurned by Sanaka and other sages, to whom Adisesha explains the essence and worth of that ecstatic bliss, which is greater than the pleasures of heaven, the bliss of drinking deep the ambrosia of the teachings of Sri Madhwa.

śrunutādareṇa mahaniyatamam mahaniyapāda sama yasya phalam |
 tridivādi labhyamapi nāsyā phalam kathitam krusheriva palalakulam | swaphalantu muktipada mukti padam śuka śāradādi paramārtha vidām || 6 || paramāgamārtha vara śastra midam bhajatāmamānava katā rachitam || 7 ||.

Those who have understood the essence of the teachings of Sri Madhwa will be able to attain realisation by the grace of the Lord. Mahānanda tīrthasya ye bhāshya bhāvam manō vākbhi rāvarta yante swaśaktyā | surādyā narānthā mukunda prasāda dimam mokshamcte bhajante sadethi. v. 79. sarga XI.

The twelfth chapter gives an account of the learned disputations and theological controversies between Sri Madhwa and the leading exponents of the school of Sri Sankara. Vidyāsankara was a contemporary of Sri Madhwa. The Madhwa Vijaya mentions Padma Tīrtha and Pundarika Puri as the opponents of Sri Madhwa. Sri Madhwa is said to have lost his library, which was restored through the intervention of king Jayasimha. This king is identified as the father of Ravi Varma Kulasekhara Perumal of Kerala. 1313 A.D. Jayasimha dismounted, sent away his soldiers and prostrated himself before Sri Madhwa. Jayasimha imam nrusimha varyah śubha-hih stambha viśishta simha nāmā. v. 21, s. XIII. avatīrya paraiva vāhanātswādapi margādapasārya sainikan saḥ | sahakaischana bhū surairavāpta strijagat pūjyapadāti kenanāma. v. 22, s. XIII. An impressive description of Sri Madhwa's personality is given in verses 29 to 39 s. XIII. Verses 40 and 41 describe how Sri Madhwa delivered lectures on the Bhāgawatha Purāna, to large audiences and kept them spell bound, infusing devotional fervour to Lord Sri Krishna.

If was here, that Trivikrama, the father of Nārāyana Panditha approached Sri Madhwa and became one of his disciples. Trivikrama's father, Subramanya was also a great scholar. Their gotra was Āngīra and the family was known as Likucha. Trivikrama studied in detail, all the works of Sri Madhwa and composed a hymn of 41 verses, known as Vāyustuti, in praise of his master. Trivikrama Panditha wrote a glossary, on the Brahma Sutra Bhāshya of Sri Madhwa, known as Tatwa Pradīpa. He also composed two hymns, on Lakshmi Narasimha and Siva.

The fourteenth chapter describes the daily life of Sri Madhwa, in his sanyāsa āshrama, during his stay at Vishnumangala. The disciples observed, not the outward splendour of the decoration of the

images with flowers or the incense offered to the images only, but the transformed figure of their master, Sri Madhwa, in ecstatic bliss of devotion, having realised the presence of God, in the lotus of his heart. Tamaruṇa manī varṇam divya dehākhyā gehe snapitha māthi pruthu śraddha nadi chitta vārbhiḥ | manusaya jathi nithyam hrutsarojasanastham natu sakruditi pushpai rashtabhirbhāva push-paiḥ || v. 37. sarga XIV.

The fifteenth chapter begins with the discourse of Sri Madhwa, establishing his tenets and attacking the views of other schools of philosophy. A long discourse, verses 8 to 63, closes with the conclusion that Moksha or release, can only be obtained, by the grace of Narayana or Vishnu. Vishnur mokshādi dāteti, v. 63. verses 97 to 120, describe the initiation into holy orders of the brother of Sri Madhwa, Vishnu Tirtha. Having stayed with his parents till their death, he performed the last rites and then, joined his brother and became the founder of a separate monastery at Subramanya. Of the severe austerities and penances that characterised the life of Vishnu Tirtha, Nārāyana Panditha gave a beautiful literary expression. He retired to the hills and away from the bustle of controversy and theological discussion, he spent the rest of his life in silent contemplation and remains for ever as a source of inspiration to the followers of Sri Madhwa.

Verses 121 to 126 describe the qualities of Padmanābha Tirtha and his devotion to Sri Madhwa. Seven other monks ordained by Sri Madhwa were Hrishikesa, Narasimha, Janārdhana, Upendra, Vāmana, Rāma and Adhokshaja. They became heads of separate monasteries. The works of Sri Madhwa are 1. Rig Bhāshya, 2. Bhāshya on Upanishad Aitareya, 3. Taittereya, 4. Brihadāranya, 5. Isāvāsyā, 6. Kāthaka, 7. Chāndogya, 8. Atharvana, 9. Mānduka, 10. Shatprasna, 11. Talavakāra, 12. Brahmasutra Bhāshya, 13. Anu Bhashya, 14. Anu Vyākhyāna, 15. Gita Bhāshya, 16. Gita Tātparya, 17. Bhāgavata Tātparya, 18. Mahābhārata Tātparya Nirnaya, 19 to 28. Dasaprakaranas, 29. Dwādasa stotra, 30 to 37. Jayantī nirnaya, yati pranava kalpa, Sadā chāra smṛithi, Tāntrasāra, Krishnāmritha mahārnava, Yamaka Bhārata, Nrisimha nakha stuti, Nyāya vivarna. The sixteenth and the last chapter gives an account of the miracles performed by Sri Madhwa. His greatness is neither diminished nor enhanced by our belief or disbelief in the miracles that are attributed to him. Pingala, Māgha suddha navami is the date of Sri Madhwa's departure from this earthly abode, corresponding to 1318 A.D.

II

Padmanābha Tirtha was the successor of Sri Madhwa in pontifical office, for six years. He wrote commentaries on the works of Sri

Madhwa. Mr. B. N. K. Sarma in his *chatussūtrī Bhāshya*, (Madras 1934) gives an account of *Sattarkadipāvali*, his commentary on *Brahma sūtra Bhāshya* of Sri Madhwa. Jaya Tīrtha, the great commentator of the works of Sri Madhwa pays homage to Padmanābha Tīrtha, in his *Tatwa Prakāsika* and *Nyāya Sudha*.

Śrī Madhwa samsevana labdha śuddha vidyā sudhāmbho nidha yomalāye | krupālavah pankajanābha tīrthāḥ krupālavah syānmayi nityameshām || verse 4. *Tatwa Prakāsika*.

May Padmanabha Tīrtha, the ocean of knowledge, obtained by service to Sri Madhwa, always bestow his grace on me. In the introductory verses to the *Nyāya sudha* of Jaya Tīrtha, Padmanābha Tīrtha is mentioned as the author of *Sanyāya Ratnāvali*, a commentary on the *Anu vyākhyāna* of Sri Madhwa.

Ramāṇivāsочита vāsa bhūmissanyāya ratnāvali Janma bhūmiḥ | vairāgya bhāgyo mama padmanābha tīrthāmru tābhirbhavatād vibhūtyai || verse 5. *Nyāya sudha*.

Padmanabha Tīrtha spent his last years at Anegundi, where the foundations were being laid for the new kingdom of Hampi-Vijayanagar in South India. He passed away on Kārtika bahula chaturdāsi, in the śaka year, Raktākshi, 1324 A.D. One of the nine tombs, (Brindāvanās) on a rocky island, in the river Tungabhadra, between Anegundi and Hampi, is that of Padmanābha Tīrtha.

Narahari Tīrtha followed Padmanābha in pontifical office. His name was śama śāstri, before entering holy orders. He played an important part in the history of Kalinga, as statesman, general and saint. His inscriptions were discovered in the temple of Sri Kūrmam in the Ganjam district and in the temple of Simhāchellum in the Vizagapatam district. They belong to the second half of the thirteenth century. The Srikūrmam inscription of 1281 A.D. states that Narahari Tīrtha, "followed the profession of his father, practised high politics in a righteous manner and himself faced the frightened garrisons of the fortresses of crowds of hostile kings." The inscriptions mention Narasimha Bhatta as the father of Narahari Tīrtha. The Ganga kings of Kalinga and the Matsya kings of Oddavādi were very much influenced by the vaishnava movement of Sri Madhwa. The Simhachellum inscriptions of 1290 and 1292 A.D. refer to the gifts of king Jayanta of the Matsya dynasty, at the instance of Narahari Tīrtha. The new names taken by the members of the royal family indicate their conversion to Vaishnavism. Arjuna, Annamrāja and Mankāditya assume the names of Narasimhavardhana, Gopālavardhana and Srīrangavardhana. The Narasimha temple at Simhāchellum received royal patronage and the Ganga king Narasimha I ordered the construction of a hall (Mukha mantapa) and

Nātya mantapa (Dancing hall) at Simhachellum. Narahari Tirtha continued to remain in the Kalinga country, after his entering holy orders. In 1293 a gift was recorded at Sri Kūrmam by the sage, Narahari Tirtha.

. There is a tradition that, during the minority of one of the Ganga kings, Narahari Tirtha acted as regent and secured the images of Rama and Sita, which were presented to Sri Madhwa. They were worshipped by Sri Madhwa for some months, before his departure from earthly existence.

In a hymn composed in praise of Narahari Tirtha, known as Nara-hari yatistōtra, in stōtra Mahodadhi, it is stated that Narahari Tirtha founded a village, called Narāyana Devarakere, near Hampi.

To Narahari Tirtha is attributed the origin of the Haridāsa movement of popular singers, praising God and the Masters. They are given a dedicatory name or ankitha (Nom-de-plume) by a guru or preceptor, who has helped them in their mystic progress towards realisation. Raghupathi or Raghukula Tilaka was the ankitha of Narahari Tirtha. One of his kanarese poems was translated into English by Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, (*Triveni*, March 1937). Its closing verse is Bhajisu brahmādi vandita hariyā, tyajisu kāmādi śatrugalā | sujana vandita nāda narahariyā, bhajisu śrihari raghu-patiyā.

Call on God to whom all creation submits ;
Give up the enemies within the self ;
Call on Him whom all righteous men worship,
The Lord of all good : the king of the universe.

Narahari Tirtha passed away on Pushya Bahula saptami of the śaka year śrimukha, 1333 A.D., on the banks of the river Tungabhadra, handing over the pontificate to Mādhawa Tirtha. Yevam śriyatirāt mahāmahimayuk śri Rāmadevam tato datwā Mādhawa Tirtha hasta kamale samprāpya tungāthatam | varshe śrimukha nāmni māsi daśame pakshe site saptame Ghasre dehamimam tyajan padama-gācchri vishṇu nāmnah śubham. verse 12. stotra mahodadhi.

Of Mādhawa Tirtha, we know very little. He was known as Vishnu Sastri, before he joined holy orders. He was also one of the direct disciples of Sri Madhwa. He passed away on Bhādrapada Bahula Amāvāsyā of the śaka year vikruti, 1350 A.D., at Manur on the banks of the river Bhīmarathi.

His successor was Akshobhya Tirtha, whose name is well known as the teacher of Jaya Tirtha. Akshobhya was the contemporary of the great Advaita scholar, Vidyāraṇya and the Visishtā-dwaita scholar Vedānta Desika. Akshobhyā's name, before he entered holy orders, was Govinda sāstri. Mulabāgal, one of the provincial capitals of the Empire of Vijayanagar, was the head-

quarters of Akshobhya. Akshobhya acted as an umpire in a famous dialectical debate, on the meaning of Tat twam asi, between Vidyāranya and Vendānta Desika.

Jaya Tīrtha, in his *Tatwa Prakāsika*, verse 5, praises his master, Akshobhya :—

Śrimadramā ramaṇa sadgiri pāda sangi vyākhyā nināda dalitākhila dushta darpām | durvādi vāraṇa vidāraṇa daksha diksha makshobhya tīrtha mrugarāja maham namāmi. I bow to Akshobhya Tīrtha, who like unto the king of beasts knew no fatigue in the execution of the duty of putting down the elephant of defective dispute and purged the wicked of their pride by the thunder of his expositions resting at the feet of the mountain of the lord of Ramā.

Akshobhya passed away on Mārgasirsha bahula panchami of the śaka year, Viswāvasu, 1365 A.D. at Malkhed, on the banks of the river Kāgini, handing over the pontificate to Jaya Tīrtha.

Jaya Tīrtha was an aristocrat by birth. His name was Dhonde Raghunāth Rao. He was the head of a regiment of cavalry. He was married twice and enjoyed a life of princely luxury. But something happened causing a revolution in his life. He came into contact with Akshobhya Tīrtha and entered holy orders. He spent most of his life at Malkhed, in the caves of the Yeragola hills. Vidyāranya is said to have visited the place and honoured Jaya Tīrtha, for his profound scholarship. “The life of Jaya Tīrtha was an expression of true vairāgya and true bhakti. His austere discipline as a sanyāsi, his rejection of all honours and glory, his living in a cave on a pittance of spare food brought by his disciples by madhūkara vritti, while he was writing commentaries, his abandonment of riches, position, two wives—all these for the sake of devoting his life solely and wholly for the service of God and gurus and the establishment of Madhwa siddhāntā—are they not expressions of his bhakti and vairāgya ? ”

The modesty and humility of this learned savant is indicated in verse 8 of his masterpiece, *Nyāya sudha*, his gloss on the *Anu Vyākhyāna*. Naśabdābdhau gāḍha nacha nigama charchā suchaturā nacha nyāye praudha nacha vidita vedyā api vayam param śrimat pūrṇapramati guru kāruṇya saraṇim prapannā mānyāḥ smāḥ kimapi cha vadantopi mahatām. I am not perfect in the knowledge of words, nor in vedic debates nor am I well versed in Nyāya, nor am I capable of teaching well what I have learnt and understood. Yet owing to the grace of Poorna Prajna (Madhwa), may these words receive the recognition of the great.

Sri Madhwa, in the opening verse of his *Anu Vyākhyāna* invokes Nārāyaṇa. Jaya Tīrtha elucidates the meaning of the word, Nārāyaṇa in the *Nyāya sudha*. Arāḥ doshāstadviruddhatwādguruṇā narā-

stadayanatwānnārāyaṇah | arāṇāmayanam na bhavatītivā | upakārit-wādinā narāṇāmīme nārāḥ vedādayah | pratipādyatayā tadayana-twādwā | narāṇāmidam nāram udbhavādi dātrutaya tasyā yan-
twādwā | nara samūho nāram vandyatayā tadayanatwādwā | narā-
ṇāmadhi pathirnāro mukhya vāyuh parama premāspada tayā tasyā-
yanatwā dweti | Page 2.

Nārāyaṇa is the abode of qualities, is destitute of defects, is the abode of the Vedās, is the creator, preserver, etc., of the universe, is the worshipped by the universe and the abode of the principal Vāyu.

Jaya Tīrtha gives a beautiful definition of Bhakti, in I Pada, I Adhyaya of Nyāya sudha. Niravadhika anantha anavadya kalyāṇa guṇatwa jnāna pūrvaka swātma ātmīya samastha vastubhyo anantha guṇādhika antarāya sahasrenāpi aprati baddha nirantara prema pravāharūpo bhaktih. Bhakti is the intense love, proceeding from a knowledge of the greatness of God. It must be firm in faith. It should be many times greater than the love for one's own children and relations.

In the third chapter of Tatwa Prakāsika, which is a commentary on Sri Madhwa's Sutra Bhāshya, Jaya Tīrtha elucidates the means of obtaining moksha, Bhagawat prasādastāwan moksha sādhanam sachatadaparoksha jnānād bhavathi | nacha tadubhayam vidhātum śakyam | purusha prayatnāgocharatwāt atojnāna sādhanam vidheyam | taccha śravaṇa manana nididhyāsana rūpa Jijnāsaiva Jijnā-sāyāncha bhagavad bhakta eva adhikārī | anyasya tadasam bhavāt | Bhagawad bhaktiścha māhaṭmya śravanena sambhavatyapi vairāgyeṇa druḍha bhavatyatalāt sādhane shu vairāgyamevādvapekshitam. "The grace of the Lord is the chief means of release. It can be obtained only by knowing Him and seeing Him. Neither the grace of the Lord nor the knowledge of Him can be secured by force of command ; for they are not in the range of human effort. Then rules may be laid down only for adopting such means as may lead to knowledge. The enquiry for knowledge consists of study, reasoning out the points of belief and deep contemplation of the thing conclusively known by these processes. Those only are fit to enter upon such an enquiry who are full of devotion to the glorious Lord. Primarily, devotion is the result of the knowledge of God's glories. But it has to be firmly rooted in the heart which is divested of all attachment to all other things. Hence Vairāgya or conquest of passions and desires is to be first ensured. The only means of turning away the mind and heart from worldly things is to clearly understand the endless turmoil of birth and death." Introdn. XLI. S. Subbarao. Pūrṇa Prajna Darsana, Madras, 1904.

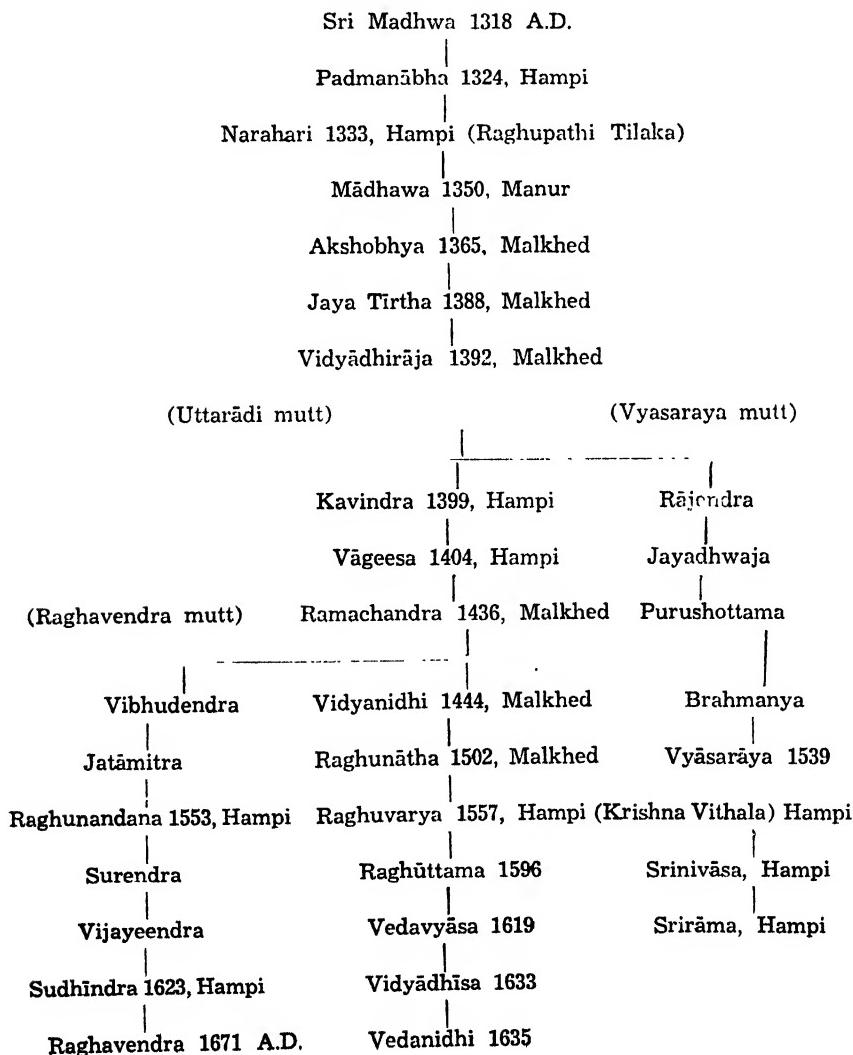
Commenting on Mantra 2 of the Īśāvāsyā Upanishad, kurvanne veha

karmāṇī Jijivishet—Performing works even here, let a man live.... Jaya Tirtha emphasises the importance of Upāsana or meditation. Krishnopāstih kāryaiva. That leads to God-vision. God reveals his form to His devotees, called satyadharmaś in Mantra 15. They constantly meditate on the satya or the true and hold him in their hearts. Hrudaye brahma dhāraṇamchādara nairantaryopetam tad-dhyānādikameva taccha bhaktasyaiva sambhavatiti—

Jaya Tirtha passed away on Āshāḍha Bahula panchami of the Saka year, Vibhava, 1388 A.D. at Malkhed.

III

Table I. Mādhwa line of Pontiffs.



Vidyādhira succeeded Jaya Tīrtha in the pontificate. His earthly remains were laid at rest near Malkhed, on Vaisākha śuddha tritiya, of Saka year Āngirasa, 1392 A.D. Malkhed and Hampi-Vijayanagar were the two important cities that patronised the followers of Sri Madhwa. In the 15th century A.D., the original line of monks, began to split into three separate monasteries, as shown in the above table. The Vyāsaraya mutt is named after Vyāsarāya, the most celebrated scholar and saint of Vijayanagar, under Krishna Devarāya. The Rāghavendra mutt is named after Rāghavendra, the saint and healer of Mantralaya, on the river Tungabhadra. The main line came to be known as the Uttarādi mutt.

Several of these monks spent their lives at Hampi. It has been mentioned above, that Padmanābha Tīrtha's remains were laid at rest, at Hampi. Eight more were laid at rest in the same enclosure, and their names are praised in the verse :—Padmanābhām kavindramcha vāgīśam Raghuvaryakam vyāsarājam śrinivāsam Rāmatīrtham Sudhīndrakam Govindamcha vyāsa śishyam nava vrundāvane Bhaje. The last one, Govinda did not hold any pontifical office but was a devoted disciple of Vyāsarāya.

Half way between the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi and the nava brindāvana island is another little island rock with the brindāvana of Narahari Tīrtha. Near the mantapa or hall, familiarly known as Purandara mantapa, on the banks of the river Tungabhadra is the brindāvana of Raghunandana Tīrtha and a little image of Hanumān with four hands. Two hands hold the chakra and sankha, the two others hold a book and a gada.

Table II. Mādhwa line of pontiffs. (8 Udipi mutts)

Sri Madhwa							
1. Hrishikesa (Phalamaru)	3. Janārdana (Krishnapur)	5. Vāmana (sirur)	7. Rama (Kanur)	2. Nāsimha (Adhamaru)	4. Upendra (Puttigi)	6. Viśhnu (Sode)	8. Adhvahaja (Pejawar)
						Vādiraja 16th century	Vijayadhwaja 16th century
						The most celebrated in this line.	the commentator of Bhāgawata

Table III. Sripādaraya mutt.

Sri Madhwa
Padmanabha
Ninth in the line

Sri Pādaraya 1492 (Ranga Vithala)

The Haridāsa movement, of which Narahari Tīrtha was the founder, received a great impetus in the fifteenth century, through the efforts of Sri Pādarāya. (Table III). His name before entering holy orders was Lakshminarayana. He was initiated by sage Suvarṇa varṇa Tīrtha of the Mulabāgal monastery founded by Padmanābha Tīrtha.

Sāluva Narasimha, the founder of the second dynasty of Vijayanagara, was a great patron of Sri Pādarāya. The high esteem with which the sāluva kings held Sripādaraya is indicated in verse 1, chapter II of Sri Pādarajāshtaka. (stotra Mahodadhi) Śrimadvīra nrisinga rāja nripatherbhūdeva hatyāvyathām dūrikṛitya tadarpito Jwala mahā simhāsane sansthitah.

One of the great contributions of Sripādarāya to the Mādhwa movement, was the popularisation of the teachings of Sri Madhwa by rendering them into the Canarese language. He composed hundreds of musical compositions and spread the teachings of Sri Madhwa among the common people, who had no chance of learning sanskrit. His Canarese songs, like the Bhramara Gita, Venu Gita and Gopi Gita roused the devotional fervour of the masses. His dedicatory name or ankitha was Ranga Vithala. His songs are simple and melodious. The Bhramara Gita is a beautiful piece of lyric poetry. The gopīs are addressing the bee which they imagine to have come from Sri Krishna.

Sripādaraya, also, composed a song of 29 verses, in praise of Sri Madhwa, known as Sri Madhwa nāma.

The disciple of Sripādarāya was the great Vyāsarāya, 1447-1539 A.D. A detailed biography by poet Somanātha was published by Venkobarao of Mysore. Vyāsarāya was the ecclesiastical adviser of Krishnadevaraya. For a short period, he was crowned king and coins were issued in his honour. Tradition says that Vyāsarāya, by his prayers, saved the emperor from the evil effects of kuhu yoga, at the time of the battle of Raichur. Amidst the ruins of Hampi-Vijayanagara, near the temple of Virūpāksha, is a little shrine of yantrodhāraka Hanumān, installed by Vyāsarāya. The figure of Hanumān is carved on a rock, in the meditation pose, with a rosary in his hand, seated in padmāsana. He is in the centre of two intersecting equilateral triangles, inscribed within a circle, the circumference of which is covered by a string of Hanumāns. It is a unique specimen of sculpture.

For a period of 12 years, from about 1485 A.D., Vyāsarāya was at Tirupathi, conducting the worship of Srinivasa. For nearly 500 years, Tirupathi has been a special place of pilgrimage to the followers of Sri Madhwa.

Sri Vyāsarāya composed three monumental works, Tātparya chandrika, Tarka tāndava and Nyāyāmrita. The first is a gloss on Jaya-tīrthā's Tatwa prakāsika. The three works are collectively known as "Vyāsatraya".

The disciples of chaitanya of Bengal count themselves as the disciples of Vyāsarāya.

Vyāsarāya composed several songs in canarese and was one of the leading haridāsas. In the upāsana sulādi, he praises God as the nearest and the dearest. Thāyi lokake...Tande lokake Gathi ī lokake....Iśanne lokake sarvā ī lokake Sri Krishna....He is always with us, never separated from us. He is doer. We are only puppets in His hands. [See Mystic teachings of the Haridāsas of Karnātak by A. P. Karmarkar and N. B. Kalamdani, Bombay, 1939.]

Purandara dāsa, the greatest of the Haridāsas, was a disciple of Vyāsarāya. His name is a household word to all lovers of music and song in South India. He was born at Purandarghad near Poona in 1491 A.D. His father, Varadappa Naik was a wealthy diamond merchant. To him was born Purandara, whose name before he became a dāsa, was Srinivāsa Naik. He was married and had 4 sons. In course of time, he abandoned all his wealth, left Purandarghad and proceeded to Hampi-Vijayanagar, where he received initiation at the hands of Vyāsarāya. The best period of his life was spent at Hampi, where a mantapa is pointed out to the present day, as Purandara mantapa. He passed away from this world in 1564 A.D.

To Purandaradāsa, caste is not a mere matter of birth but of character. He is an outcaste who does not worship God Purandara Vithala. Purandara Vithala nennadiva pāpi holiya. Mere show of orthodoxy and ceremonial purity are of no use, if there is no real devotion to God. That is described as stomach saintliness in the song Udara vairāgyavidu. What is required of a true devotee, is the rivetting of the mind completely towards God. God will then take care of his devotee. This reciprocal relationship is well described in the song, yenagu āne ranga, ninagu āne. If I do not resort to Thee, I break my oath but if Thou dost not protect me, you break your oath.

"Purandaradāsa did not write reminiscences. If he had, we should have had a book like St. Augustine's Confessions or' Mahatma Gandhi's story of his life. Yet Purandaradāsa put enough of himself into his songs to give them the colour of his personality." Masti, Triveni, July 1935.

(To be continued)

The Pāśupatas in South India

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One of the oldest and most widely spread cults in India is that of Śiva. It included many sects of which some survive to this day. While some of them had the sanction of the Vedas, a few had not. While a number of them followed mild forms of worship, some followed shocking and repulsive practices like human sacrifices. One of the ancient Śaiva sects was that of the Pāśupatas who find mention in the early literature of the country, like the *Mahābhārata* (*Śāntiparva*) and the *Vāyu*, *Kūrma* and *Linga Purāṇas*. The following account of the origin of the Pāśupatas is contained in the *Linga Purāṇa*. “In the 28th *mahā yuga* when Viṣṇu son of Parāśara will incarnate himself as Dvaiḍāyana, Vyāsa Kṛṣṇa will become incarnate as Vāsudeva. At that time Śiva shall as a *Brahmacāri* enter a dead body thrown in a cemetery without anybody to guard it, by means of *yoga* powers and shall bear the name Lakuli. At that time Kāyāvatāra (Kāyārōhaṇa according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*)¹ will become famous as a sacred place (*siddhakṣetra*) and remain so till the earth endures. And there will be born the ascetic pupils Kuśika, Garga, Mitra, and Kauruṣya, and these Pāśupatas will repair to the Rudra lōka from where they will not return.”²

An inscription in an old shrine at Ekilingji near Udaipur dated 971-72 says that in the country of Br̥hakuccha (Broach) the sage Bhṛgu having been cursed by Viṣṇu propitiated the God Śiva who in the presence of that very sage incarnated himself with a club (*lakula*) in his hand. Since Śiva descended to earth in body at that place it came to be called Kāyāvarōhaṇa.³ But the Cintra pra-

1. But it may be noted that these two words are not synonymous. They seem to indicate two distinct places which became confused in later times. *Kāyāvatāra* may mean the *place* of descending into the *human* body, the place where the teacher Lakulin made his first appearance, while the term *Kāyārōhaṇa* may mean the *place* of ascending into the *divine* body i.e. the place where Lakulin established a school and died (J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 422 n. 1).

2. See J.B.B.R.A.S., 1912, pp. 154-55.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

śasti of the reign of Śāranga deva (c. 1274-1294) says that Siva became incarnate in the form of Lakuliśa in order to favour Uluka's son who was without issue on account of the effects of a curse.⁴ Though there is some difference between these accounts with regard to minor details there is agreement among them on fundamental points such as Lakuliśa being an incarnation of Mahesvara, the incarnation having taken place at Kāyāvarōhaṇa, and there having been four ascetic pupils of Lakuli whose names are almost similar in the Purāṇas and the Cintra praśasti.

To say however when exactly the Pāśupata school was founded is very difficult. The inscriptions which refer to the incarnation of Śiva as Lakuliśvara or Nakuliśvara are comparatively late. The earliest mention of it is found in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Though large portions of the Purāṇa could have been composed even long before the commencement of the Christian era, say the fifth or the fourth century B.C.,⁵ it appears to have reached its final shape during the Gupta period. As Dr. Bhandarkar thinks if the *Vāyu Purāṇa* was put together in the beginning of the fourth century, the incarnation of Śiva as Lakuli, to become a general belief and come to be spoken about in the Purāṇa, must be placed as early as the first century A.D. at the latest. Thus the belief in the incarnation of Śiva as Lakuliśa may go back to a period even anterior to the commencement of the Christian era.⁶

A number of sculptures and images have been found in the Ekalingji temple itself as also in a number of other old ones in Rajputana which are considered to be representations of Śiva as Lakuliśa. In all of them the God is represented as two armed and as holding a club in one of his hands. It may be noted that while usually the images of Śiva are represented as having four arms, the figure of Lakuliśa is represented only with two arms. This has been taken to mean "that his human origin was prominent before the mind of his followers and that consequently he was a historical personality like Buddha or Mahāvīra."⁷ This aspect of the incarnation of Śiva deserves to be studied along with the account contained in the Purāṇas, namely that Lakulin was a Brahmacārin, a celibate ascetic. The region where this aspect of Śiva became popular appears to have been the Gujarat and Rajputana country of the modern day.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 274-75.

5. See V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 49.

6. See *Vaishnavism, Saivism and other minor Religions*, pp. 116-17.

7. See *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 424.

The Pāśupatas were the worshippers of Paśupati and the observers of the *Pāśupata vrata*. The *Atharva Śiras Upaniṣad* contains the following description of the *vrata*. “In the inside of the heart exists the subtle body, in which there are anger, greed and forgiveness. Destroying greed, which is at the bottom of human motives, and concentrating the mind on Rudra who is one and eternal, one should be moderate in eating and drinking.” Then a precept is made with regard to besmearing the body with ashes, with the repetition of the words, “the ash is fire, the ash is water, the ash is earth, everything is ash, the ether is ash, the mind, the eyes and other senses are ash”. It is stated in the work that the Pāśupata vow is enjoined for the removal of the noose with which the *Paśu* or the individual soul is tied.⁸

The *Sarva darśana sangraha* of Mādhava gives us an idea about the Lakuliśa Pāśupatas.⁹ According to it the end of pain is of two sorts, the *anātmaka mōkṣa* and the *sātmaka mōkṣa*. Of these the former is defined as the absolute freedom from pain. The possession of *kriyāśakti* and *jñānaśakti* which are the attributes of Paramēśvara is called *sātmaka mōkṣa*. Perception of even the smallest, the most distant matters, hearing of every kind of sound, being well versed in all the Śāstras, the possession of these and similar powers is called *jñānaśakti*. The accomplishment of every object, quickly assuming every form according to one’s own desire is known as *kriyāśakti*. Those two śaktis constitute the *sātmaka mōkṣa*.

In every other system a *kārya* or effect is defined as that which follows a *kāraṇa* or cause. The Pāśupatas call all dependent objects as effect. In conformity with this, in their definition of *kārya* they bring *Jīvātman* or *Paśu* which they admit as eternal under the category of *kārya* because it is dependent upon *Paramātman* or *Pati*. The Being who is endowed with the powers of creation, destruction and protection, the Lord Paramēśvara is known to their philosophy as *kāraṇa*. His attributes are *Jñānaśakti* and *Kriyāśakti* which are eternally with him, not as acquired after a stage by the perfected human souls.

Yoga or union of the soul with *Pati* may be attained in two ways, either through *japa*, *dhyāna* and other *karmas* or by exercising strict control over the senses.

The rules of conduct of the Pāśupatas are the most interesting part of their religion. Bathing their bodies thrice a day in ashes, lying

8. See R. G. Bhandarkar (note 6 above), *op. cit.*, p. 112.

9. Translation by Cowell and Gough, pp. 103 ff.

down in ashes, making noise like *ahā ahā*, singing loudly the praises of their God, dancing either according to the science of dancing or in any manner, curling the tongue and roaring like bulls, making prostration and circumambulation, repeating the names of Śiva—all these are their daily observances. But these curious acts should not be practised in the presence of other persons. They are also advised to act like mad men, pretending to be asleep when quite awake, shaking the limbs as when attacked by paralysis, walking like one with rheumatic pain in his legs, or like a lame man, exhibiting signs of lust at the sight of a woman, making meaningless noise and so on. To get rid of fastidiousness they are enjoined to beg for food, eat the remnants of the dishes of others and do such similar objectionable acts.¹⁰

There were a number of sectional groups among the Pāśupatas, and of them the Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas may be mentioned. The Kālamukhas, so called probably because they marked their forehead with a black streak, were said to be born of *nara* (human) and rākṣasa (demoniacal) parents and were also called *mahāvratins* evidently on account of the great vows that they followed. They believed that for the attainment of heaven one must eat food in a skull, besmear the body with the ashes of a dead body, eat the ashes, hold a club in one's hand, keep a pot of wine and worship the God as seated therein.¹¹ In the Śaiva sacred books are mentioned a bracelet of *rudrākṣa*, a string of matted hair on the head, a skull, etc., as the appurtenances of these people. They believed that people of other castes could become Brahmins and attain to the highest order by the performance of certain rites. "One becomes a Brāhmaṇa immediately after the process of simple initiation and a man becomes a holy saint by undertaking the vow of a Kāpāla."¹²

It is these practices of the Pāśupatas that roused the indignation of the followers of the Vedic injunctions from very early times. The *Uśana samhita* gives a list of the *Panktidūṣakas* or those with whom food should not be eaten; and among them are mentioned the Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas, Śrāmanas, Nirgūḍhas, Pañcarāṭras who are all referred to as *Pāśandas* or heretics.¹³

Even so early as the days of the Pallavas these heretical sects had become strong in South India. This is well borne out by the fact that the authors of the *Dēvāram* hymns have sung in praise of

10. See T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pp. 21-23.

11. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Chapter IV. vv. 23-26.

the Śiva temples at Kumbhakōṇam,^{13a} Nāgapatṭinam and a few other places by calling them Kāyārōhaṇa or Kārōṇa, probably after the place of that name in Gujarat. Among the other important Pāśupaṭa centres in South India, there appear Kāñcī, Tiruvorriyūr, Mayilāpūr, Koḍumbālūr, all in the Tamil country and Belugāmi and a few other places in the Kannada country.

The Sanskrit farce, *Mattavilāsaprahasana* written by the Pallava king Mahendravarman (600-630) mentions Kāñcī, as a place where the Kāpālikas were flourishing in large numbers.¹⁴ According to traditions centering round Tiruvorriyūr the Goddess of the place had a fierce aspect and was demanding animal and human sacrifices till the Advaita philosopher Śankara visited the place, threw the image of the goddess into a well and closed its mouth.¹⁵ There was a Kālamukha *maṭha* at the place which was presided over by a line of Caturānana Paṇḍitas. We get to know about the career of one such Caturānana Pandita from an inscription of the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. According to it the Caturānana Paṇḍita under reference was born in Keraḷa and was endowed with great qualities. Even very early in his life he became a great master of all arts and sciences and when he grew of age he became the *guru* of Rājāditya the son of the Cōla king Parāntaka (907-953). When Prince Rājāditya died fighting against Kṛṣṇa III in 949 in the battle of Takkōlam, Caturānana Paṇḍita who got disgusted with life on account of his separation from his disciple turned an ascetic at Tiruvorriyūr, after getting initiation from one Nirañjana guru, and taking the name Caturānana, became a *mahāvratin* and the head of the local *maṭha*.¹⁶

The temple at Mayilāpūr which is dedicated to Kapālīśvara (Lord of Skulls) was an important centre for the Kāpālikas and this aspect of the Lord of the place was the subject of a song by Tirujñāna Sambandar.¹⁷ Koḍumbālūr in the former Pudukkottai State was an important Kālamukha centre in the tenth century A.D. A Sanskrit inscription of one Vikrama Kēśari a local chieftain in the reign of Parāntaka II (956-973) mentions the construction of three shrines (*vimānatrayam*) usually known as mūvar kōyil by the chieftain and his presentation of a big *maṭha* (*bṛhan maṭham*) and eleven villages for the regular feeding of fifty *asitavaktra* ascetics, to his preceptor Mallikārjuna a great Vedic scholar and a disciple

13a. Tirujñāna Sambanda's *Dēvāram*, 1. 75.

14. See Gopalan, *The Pallavas of Kāñchi*, pp. 94-95.

15. M.E.R., 1912, Para 68.

16. 177 and 181 of 1912. Rep. Para 17.

17. Tirujñāna Sambanda's *Dēvāram*, II, 183.

of Vidyā rāśi, Kālamukha teacher, who had migrated to the region from Madhura. He is described in the inscription as a 'store house of penance'—(taporāśi).¹⁸ Probably he was the same as the one mentioned in an inscription on a slab found originally at Tagaṭūr in the Salem District and now preserved in the Madras Museum.¹⁹

Tiruvānaikkā near Trichinopoly was another important centre of the Pāśupatas. The *akhila nāyaki tirumadām*, one of the numerous *māṭhas* at the place, was in the middle of the thirteenth century presided over by one Jiyar Viśveśvara Śivācārya, the head of the Goṭaki māṭha, a migrant from the Province of Rādhā, and the preceptor of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati. It is said he had a large following which was distributed over a wide area in South India. An inscription of A.D. 1240 mentions the grant of the village of Kumāramangalam in the former Pudukkottai State as a *māḍappuram* to the *māṭha* at Tiruvānaikkōyil where Viśveśvara Śivācārya, mentioned above was staying.²⁰ There was another *māṭha* at the place called the *Lakṣādhyāya Bhiksā māṭha* which was originally founded at Benares with a branch at Pillaimangalam in the State. An inscription of A.D. 1285 mentions that the temple authorities at Pillaimangalam sold a site to one Aḍaivār Vinaitīrttan a celibate disciple of the head of the Tiruvānaikkōyil *māṭha* for the construction of a *māṭha* at Pillaimangalam.²¹ These instances show that there was live contact between the Śaivas of South India and other parts of the country.²²

The popularity of the Kālamukhas in some other districts of the Tamil country is indicated again by a number of inscriptions. A lithic record from Vedāl in the North Arcot District mentions a Kālamukha Dāśapuriyan of the Harita Gotra and the Āpastamba Sūtra.²³ There was a Kālamukha *māṭha* at Mēlpādi also in the same region, the head of which was one Lakuliśvara Pañḍita.²⁴ Among the authorities of the temple at Jambai in the South Arcot District is mentioned a *mahāvratin* called Lakuliśvara Pañḍita in the reign of Vira Rājendra,²⁵ In 1123 we get reference to a Kālamukha Gōmaḍattu Aruḷāla Bhaṭṭan who is said to have sold some land to the temple at Kōyil Tēvarāyanpeṭṭai in the Tanjore

18. *P.S.I.* No. 14.

19. 309 of 1901.

20. *P.S.I.*, No. 196.

21. *Ibid.*, 397.

22. See *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Second Edition, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 685-87.

23. 85 of 1908.

24. 85 of 1899; *S.I.I.*, III, p. 27.

25. 100 of 1906.

District.²⁶ In 1127, 1205 and 1231 some Kālamukhas bearing such names as Sailarāśi and Jñānarāśi are mentioned as making endowments for lamps and taking charge of such endowments in the temple at Triuvānaikkōyil (Chingleput District).²⁷ In the Airāvatēśvara temple of Dārāśuram known to have been constructed by Kulōtunga III (1178-1216) is found a frieze consisting of miniature figures of 108 Śaiva ācāryas with labels cut above them. The labels contain the proper names of the teachers and their clerical titles. Since the titles end in Śiva it may be presumed that the teachers belonged to the Pāśupata cult.²⁸

Beyond the Tamil country, in the Karnāṭaka region also we find that the Kālamukhas were in a flourishing condition during the days of the Hoysalas and the Cālukyas. An inscription of 1078 mentions one Vālmīki muni who belonged to the Lakula school,²⁹ while another of 1103 says that one Someśvara Paṇḍita made the Lakula siddhānta blossom.³⁰ The Western Cālukyan king Bhuvanaikamalla is said to have made a gift of land at the request of his two queens to one Sureśvara Ācārya. According to the epigraph under reference (A.D. 1069) he was the disciple of Gangarāśi Bhaṭṭāraka, the ācārya of the temple of Brahmeśvara at Mosangi, and the follower of the Kālamukha *samaya*.³¹ During the days of Vikramāditya VI the head of the Kālamukhas of the Müvara Koneya Santati was one Divyajñāna Kāśmīra deva who is described as a heavenly seer and the emperor of the Kālamukha munis. Among his apostolic descendants were Trilocana Munīndra and Vareśvara deva. The chief seat of the Kālamukhas in the Cālukyan empire appears to have been the temple of Kādāreśvara at Baligrāma (Baligave).³² Another great *Yatipati* who belonged to the same order was one Kedāra Śakti, whose successors in the apostolic line were Śrikanṭha and Someśvara.³³ A record of 1094 mentions Someśvara as the ācārya of the God Nakhareśvara, while one of 1102 refers to him as the ācārya of the *sthāna* of Dakṣina Kedāreśvara. A third record of 1112 describes him as the *ārādhya* or family priest of one Kāmadēvara-rasa.³⁴ At Śrī Parvata there was a *māṭha* called the Agastyeśvara

26. 247 of 1923.

27. 352 of 1911; 357 of 1911; See also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Cōlas, Vol. II, p. 495.

28. See M.E.R. 1915, pt. II, Para 11.

29. E.C., vii, Sk. 107.

30. Ibid, Sk., 98.

31. 9 of 1927-28.

32. E.C. VII, Sk. 98.

33. E.C. VII Sk. 99.

34. See E.I., V. p. 22

maṭha which was presided over by a succession of ācāryas, who were the followers of the *naiṣṭhika tapo mārga* (ascetic observances). In that apostolic line appeared in order Sadyōjātācārya, Kriyāśakti deva, Vāmaśakti deva, Kriyāśakti deva, Vāmaśakti deva and Kriyāśakti Munīndra.³⁵ An inscription of A.D. 1186 at Halebid refers to a Kālamukha maṭha at Dvārasamudra, which was presided over by a succession of able ācāryas such as Īśāna Śakti, Devendra Paṇḍita and Kalyāṇa Śakti Paṇḍita.³⁶

In the Telugu districts also the Kālamukhas appear to have been in a flourishing condition from early times. During the days of Amma II, the Eastern Cālukya king (945-70) there was a Kālamukha teacher, Vidyēśvara by name, who was the author of a grant.³⁷ An inscription dated 1115 found at Kopparasam mentions one Kālamukha Mallikārjuna who was in charge of the temple of Someśvara at the place. Śrīśailam was the seat of an important Kālamukha maṭha known as the Mallikārjuna śila maṭha. During the days of the Kākatiya king Prola II it was presided over by a great scholar named Rāmeśvara Paṇḍita who is said to have known the nectar of the great art of Lakuliśvarāgama.³⁸ The sect appears to have been influential even under the Telugu Coḍas.

Besides the Pāśupatas there appear to have flourished in South India another sect of Śaivas who belonged to the Kāṣmīr school. Though this Kāṣmīr śaivism also cut itself away from the old traditional Śaivism of the country there was nothing common between it and Kāpālism or Kālamukhism.³⁹

In the Vijayanagar days also the Pāśupatas continued to exercise considerable influence in parts of South India, and received the patronage of the kings along side of the Advaitins. The one great and fundamental difference between the Advaitins and the Pāśupatas appears to have consisted in the fact that while the former laid great stress on the Vedas the latter paid greater attention to the Śaiva āgamas though on that account they did not go to the extent of rejecting the Vedas. Some of the early rulers of the Vijayanagar Empire were followers of this school of Śaivism. The *Kulaguru* of Harihara I and Bukka I was one Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti who was a Pāśupata. The great general and minister Mādhava who

35. E.C. XII. C.K. 35.

36. E.C. VI. Kd. 88-93.

37. M.E.R., 1915. Pt. II, para 11.

38. Kak. 'Sam. App. Ins. No. 39.

39. See Bhandarkar (note 6 above). *op. cit.*, p. 131.

played a large part in the foundation of Vijayanagar also had him for his *guru* as is borne out by one of the grants made by him in 1368.⁴⁰ It is said that at the instance of Kriyāśakti Guru Mādhava carried out a special Śaiva vow lasting for a year at the end of which he made a gift from the funds of his own property to eighty learned Brahmans from Kaṣmīr who were well versed in the Śaiva rites and were the followers of the Śaiva creeds.⁴¹ In the compilation of the *Śaivāgamasāra sangraha* jointly by Mārapa and Mādhava they appear to have been inspired by Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita.⁴² Kumāra Kampaṇa the son of Bukka I as also Immadi Bukka son of Harihara had Kriyāśakti as their *guru*.⁴³ It is said that the latter of the two princes made a grant to the temple of Vidyāśankara with the *guru's* permission.⁴⁴

An inscription of A.D. 1377 mentions one Ākāśavāsi Sāmavedi gāru as the *guru* of the Vijayanagar prince Śinganna Odeya.⁴⁵ Probably the term *ākāśavāsi* meant the same as the term *ākāśamukhin*. These terms would show that the minds of the members of the sect were always directed towards heaven. But we do not have details about them.⁴⁶

The above instances point to the fact that the Pāśupatas (of whom the Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas were sub-sects with only minor distinctions) who were given to very cruel customs and practices in earlier times had begun to adopt milder religious practices in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries. This great change was evidently due to the contempt and ridicule to which their practices were subjected in the period of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava revival in South India led by the Nāyanārs and the Ālvārs. During the days of Mahendravarman, the Pallava king (600-630), the Pāśupatas and the Kāpālikas flourished in the Kāñcipuram region in large numbers. Their ways were so bad and repulsive that the king himself caricatured them in his burlesque, the *Mattavilāsaprahasana*. They are represented in it as given to drink and revelry. Evidently the vigorous attacks made on their practices had some

40. E.C. VII. Sk. 281.

41. *Ibid.*

42. E.C. VIII. Sl. 375.

43. M.A.R. 1918, Paras 105-106, M.E.R. 1925, para 30; see also *Madhurāvijayam* by Gangādēvi, Canto I, v. 4.

44. E.C. X. Mb. 11.

45. 681 of 1917.

46. M.E.R., 1918, para 66; Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 88; see also author's *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, pp. 307-08 and n.

effect and hence probably it is that we see the Pāśupatas and the Kāpālikas being given to less repulsive ways in the imperial Cōla period, and in later times. They became very largely connected with temples and temple management, and most likely were also associated with the conduct of worship in them. But we do not know if the Pāśupata cult had a very large following in South India though some inscriptions mention that the head of a particular *māṭha* had a lakh of disciples under him.⁴⁷ However it is difficult to believe that the Pāśupata teachers had large followings because of the exacting nature of the life that the members of the sect were required to lead, namely celibacy and austere life. The southernmost limits of the influence of the Pāśupatas appear to have been the Trichinopoly district of the present day. There is no evidence to show that the Pāśupatas flourished in the Pāṇḍyan country covered by the present districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tirunelvēli.

Till about the end of the sixteenth century the members of the Pāśupata cult who were in charge of temples appear to have been only bachelors leading celibate lives ; and married men were not eligible for such offices. But in S. 1506 (A.D. 1584) a vital change was made in the time honoured custom in respect of the selection of a qualified person to be in charge of the management of the temple at Tiruvānaikkā (Jambukeśvaram). The inscription purports to be a *tirumugam* issued by Caṇḍeśvara appointing one Candraśekhara guru Uḍaiyār to the office of trustee of the above mentioned temple. It is said that the Pāśupata *vratam* and the rights of *arccanai*, *tirukkaṇ śāttu* and *muṛa svatantram* were in the enjoyment of the heads of the *māṭha* in lineal succession from *guru* to *śisya*. But "as according to the *Parāśara samhita* (Mādhabīya commentary) long term celibacy, using *kamandalu*, performance of human and horse sacrifices and drinking of spirituous liquors are deprecated by Brahmans in the Kali age ; as according to the *Kālagni Rudropaniṣad* a learned man is desirable, be he a *brahmācari*, *grahastha*, *vānaprastha* or an ascetic ; as according to the *Sanatkumāra samhita* the Pāśupata *vrata* is enjoined for twelve years of a true devotee of Paśupati, for *grahasthas agni* is not allowed, for *śrōtriya brahmacāris upanayana* is prescribed, and a period of twelve months is sufficient for..... ; as according to the *Soura Samhita* a term of twelve years, or a year, or a half year, or yet a further half of it or even a shorter term of twelve days is prescribed as a concession to the *Grahasthas* ; as Upamanyu,

47. *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, pt. I. p. 685.

Dadhīci, Agastya, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa who were all of them married men observed the *Pāśupata vrata*; as according to the *Rk Brāhmaṇa* a man is absolved from all his *r̥ṇas* by begetting a son, and a man who is childless does not attain to salvation, and so the three-fold *r̥ṇas* should somehow be worked off; as according to the *Śruti*s and the *Smṛti*s performance of *Yāgas* is obligatory on a householder from the tenth day of his marriage, and performance of certain obligatory rites on special occasions and at special places is compulsory; as in the *Yajñakarana* chapter it is stated that he who does not do certain rites is considered an excommunicated Brahman; and as according to *Śivājña* (command of Śiva) the ordinances of the *Śruti* and the *Smṛti* are to be closely followed and a transgressor is considered an enemy of Śiva, Candraśekhara Guru Uḍaiyār was commanded to be a *grahastha Pāśupata* i.e. a Pāśupata though married, and conduct *yajña* and other rites and enjoy the privileges of *arccanai*, *tirukkanśāttu*, *kovil*, *kēlvi*, *kaṇakkeluttu*, *muddirai*, and *murasvatantiram* in the temple in lineal succession of son, grandson and so on. It was however stipulated that an elder both by age and learning should be the head of the *matha* (*adhiṣṭhāna*) and maintain the brotherhood of disciples in the *matha*.”⁴⁸

The above interesting inscription reveals that a vital change was effected with regard to the qualifications expected of the manager of the temple at Tiruvānaikkā. But we do not know if the change was a solitary one, or whether it can be taken as an instance of a general change that was taking place in South India at that time. Very possibly it was the latter.

Āntu and Etir-Āntu

OR

YEAR AND AFTER-YEAR

BY

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In the inscriptions of South Indian kings the years of their reign are found expressed variously in the following terms :—

1. cēllā-niñṭa āntu (செல்லா நின்ற ஆண்டு) = the current year, or the year now running—as in “the current year five of King Sthānu Ravi” (of the Quilon Church copper-plate of ca. 880 A.D.).

Here the regnal years are reckoned (*without a break*) from the very beginning of the first regnal year, as in much more ancient documents outside India, e.g. in Persia, Babylon, Palestine, &c.

2. āñṭai�ku etir (cellānīnta) āntu (செல் ல: ர நின்ற ஆண்டாட்க்கு எதிர் ஆறும் ஆண்டு) = the (current 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th or 29th) year *after* the (first) year (of Rajaraja III). See Mr. S. Subrahmanya Sastri's paragraph quoted in Mr. K. N. Daniel's article in this *Journal* for Dec. 1948, pp. 278-9.

In this case the total number of years, say 7, is split into “year” and (6th) “*after-year*”, and not given straight away as the current 7th year as in (1) above.

Etir (எதிர்) here has the usual sense of future, or after as in etir-kālam (எதிர்காலம்), future time or after-time, as opposed to centa kālam (சென்ற காலம்), past time, and nikal kālam or cellā-niñṭa kālam (நிகழ்காலம், செல்லா நின்றகாலம்). Although the qualifying word ‘current’ precedes ‘the first year’, the epithet strictly pertains to ‘the 6th year’ *after* the first, i.e. to the 7th year of the king’s reign. “6th year *after the year*” is usually interpreted as the 6th year after the *whole* of the first year. But see the last para of this note. (*Etir* has usually been given the sense of opposite to.)

3. iraṇṭām āñṭai�ku etir nālām āntu (இரண்டாம் ஆண்டாட்க்கு எதிர் நாலாம் ஆண்டு) = the current 4th year *after* the 2nd year, i.e., 2nd + 4th = 6th year. See the many instances given on pp. 275-6 of Mr. Daniel's article referred to above.

Here as in the previous case the total number of regnal years is split into two only. This second kind of splitting is far more numerous than the other ($1 + 6$, $1 + 7$, &c.). The “2nd year” is usually regarded as indicating that 2 whole years elapsed since the beginning of the reign.

4 (a) 2-ாம் ஆண்டைக்கு எதிர் 6-ாம் ஆண்டைக்கு எதிர் 35-ம் ஆண்டு = the current 35th year after the 6th year after the 2nd year (from the very beginning of the reign of Bhaskara Ravi. *Ibid.*, p. 275).

This means the $2 + 6 + 35$ th = the 43rd regnal year. Here 2nd and 6th indicate 2 whole years immediately preceding 6 whole years, with *no break* at all in the reign of 43 years.

4 (b) 2- வதின் எதிர் 22-ாவது வைகாசி தூதங்கி 31-ாவதின் எதிர் 9-ாவது வெரை 17வர்ஷம் = (nearly) 17 years from the tenth month of $2 + 22$ nd year (= 24th year) up to $2 + 31 + 9$ th (= 42nd) year (of King Arikesari mentioned in the Tenkasi pillar inscription).

Here 24 is split into 2 & 22, while 42 is split into 2, 31 and 9—i.e. 9th year *after* the 31st *after the 2nd*, this “*after the 2nd*” being understood from the first part of the sentence. The interval will then be ($42 - 24$) = a little more than 17, say $17\frac{1}{2}$ years ; and not $16\frac{1}{4}$ as it will be if 2 is not added. $(31 + 9) - 24 = 16$ years and 3 months only, even if the later limit is the very end of the 40th year. See this *Journal* for Dec. 1948, p. 277, No. 5.

5. 13-ாவதின் எதிர் 12-ம் ஆண்டு = the 12th year *after* the 13th year (of Kulasekhara Deva), i.e. the 25th year, with *no break* at all.

In this case there is neither 1 nor 2 in the splitting. See *ibid.*, No. 6 (p. 277).

From the numerous instances given by Mr. Sastri and Mr. Daniel it is evident that, except in the case of the regnal years expressed as $1 + x$ or $2 + x$, there is no partiality towards any particular number. It is also clear that *no breaks* are discernible in any king's reign, and that since the inscriptions are in prose the splitting of a number is not for the sake of any *metre*.

Every year of a king's reign (either as a minor during the regency, or as viceroy, or as sole ruler) must have had some important event or events, and they must have been recorded as usual in the ‘*grantha-varis*’ or court chronicles as having taken place—

a. in the king's 1st, 2nd, 3rd - - - 21st, 22nd year, &c. Or, if there were only a few memorable events, they would be

recorded in the chronicles and the memory of the king's subjects as having occurred, for instance,

b. in the king's 5th year, 7th year after the 5th, 3rd year after that 7th (i.e. after the 7th after the 5th).

See actual instances in 4 above mentioning $2 + 6 + 35$, $2 + 22$, $2 + 31 + 9$, and in 5 above, recording $13 + 12$. There are such instances in documents other than inscriptions. In the above 2nd, 8th, 43rd ; 2nd, 24th, 33rd, 42nd ; 13th and 25th regnal years of the three kings respectively, important, memorable events occurred, perhaps even a dethronement for a few months or years ; and there is nothing unusual in saying or recording that such an event occurred y years after another wellknown event, which had taken place x years after another well-remembered one.

We should bear in mind too that the court chroniclers, astrologers, notaries, historians, authors of Puranas, and the generality of the kings' subjects were not living in an uncharted ocean of time, but had the Kali, Saka and Quilon eras, the 60-year cycle, etc. (with the year beginning with Mesha, Simha, or Kanya). To avoid mistakes in reckoning the regnal years they could check them with the years of the above eras, or of the cycle of 60 years.

Now the only peculiarity in the splitting of the regnal years is the very frequent occurrence of 2, and the less frequent occurrence of 1. The usual explanation for this is that the coronation, or full-fledged sovereignty of the kings occurred in the 2nd or the 1st year of their reigns. There is nothing impossible in that view.

But an *alternative* explanation may be offered here. It is seldom that a reign begins on the 1st day of the first month of a Mēshādi Kali year, or a Simhādi or Kanyādi Quilon year.¹ Suppose it began on an auspicious day, say the 3rd day of the 7th month (of a cyclic or calendar year, e.g., the 125th Quilon year). Then the first regnal year will extend from 3-7-125 Q.E. to 2-7-126 Q.E. To make it tally with the already employed and quite familiar solar year, the first part of the regnal year forming the last part of the

1. In the southern parts under the influence of the Quilon king and his astronomers the Quilon year began with the month of *Simha* (Chingam), while those in some other parts of Malabar began the year with the month of *Kanya* (Kanni), probably because, according to the *Brāhmaṇa* dictum "citrā nakshatram bhavati mukham va ētat samvatsarasya" = the citrā (Spica) asterism (which we know is just opposite *āsvati*, the present first asterism of the Kali year) is the *mukham* (=face, beginning) of the year, and *citrā* is in *Kanyā* (Virgo) *rāśi*.

The Quilon astronomers preferred *Simha* (Leo) as the first month probably because it was, and is, regarded as the Sun's *swakshētra*, or own house,

Quilon year 125, was probably reckoned as regnal year 1, and 126 Q. E. as r. y. 2. The reckoning would be as follows :—

R. y. 1. = 125 Q. E., last part only ; hence not one, strictly.

R. y. 2 = 126 Q. E.

R. y. 3 = 127 Q. E., reckoned as 3rd year, or as 1st year after the 2nd, or as 2nd year after the 1st although the 1st is not one full year.

R. y. 15 = 139 Q. E., reckoned as 13th year after the 2nd, or otherwise, optionally. If any dethronement happened at all there is no evidence of its having been regarded as a *break* in continuity.

as *Sun-day* was already the *first* day of the week, and Vishnu's *Sravana* (Onam), a very important festival day in Malabar, falls in that Simha month very often.

Again, the wonderful display of the meteoric shower of Leonids periodically from the radiant point in Leo (Simha) may have given Simha's month (Chingam) the first place.

Now, in the 9th cent. there were Jews in Quilon, for whom Abib, or Ab (nearly April = Mēsha, Mēdām) was the first month as for the Hindus. For at the building of the famous Jerusalem temple by Solomon (1015-980 B.C.), who was perhaps aware of the Hindus' first month, "Abīb, which was formerly the seventh month, now became the first month" (at Solomon's instance).—(Martin Davidson's *The Stars and the Mind*, Watts & Co., London, 1948, p. 73.

There were then Arabs too in Quilon, for whom Muharam was the first month ; and Syrians also, for whom Kōnūn Hrōi (Hindu Makara) was the first month. For these Syrians Āb of the Jews corresponded to the Hindu month of Simha (Chingam of Quilon), under the name Āb itself.

The first year of the Quilon Era appears to have been chosen as such (Saptarsi ?) because in that year the Persian Sabr-Iso re-founded the city (as the Quilon copper-plate says), and a new temple (perhaps of Vishnu) was dedicated (perhaps on Onam day) in that new city with its new harbour, as may be conjectured from a Kēralōlpatti (history of Kerala).

We recall here that in Sabr-Isho's time "The first series of regular observations, with the aid of fairly accurate instruments, appear to have been made at Gondeshāpur, in the south-west of Persia, in the first years of the ninth century of our era. During the Califate of al-Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-833), at the observatory at Baghdād, all the fundamental elements of the Almagest were verified—the obliquity of the ecliptic, the precession of the equinoxes, the length of the solar year, etc."—(G. R. Kaye's *A Guide to the Old Observatories at Delhi, &c.*, Calcutta, 1920, pp. 76-77). Probably Sabr-Isho the Persian, and his Persian engineer were instrumental in starting the Quilon era.

Gundeshapur, old Baith Lapat, had bishops from even A.D. 225 ; and the Baghdad territory too from that date. Persians must have come to Quilon even in the pre-Quilon-Era centuries. In about 400 A.D. a Theban scholar arriving in a ship, and residing in Muziris, in Cochin, speaks of Persians (and Ethiopians = Arabs of Ethiopia) even in Ceylon. Its king in about 50 A.D. had sent even to Rome along with a stranded Roman freedman four ambassadors of whom the chief was called Rachia (=Rājayyā, or Raja, or Rāghava ?). Q. E. 7 fell in Kulasekhara Alwar's days.—T. K. J.

The Substance of Rāmānuja's Śri Bhāshyam

(Concluded from p. 296 of Part III, Vol. XXVI)

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X

The capacity for wonderful creation, of which the texts speak, is but one of many such attributes that belong to the Lord ; and Vyāsa has dwelt at length on some of them. The unique excellence of these attributes that distinguish the Infinite Being would become evident, when we view them side by side with the defects and limitations of the finite. Just as the fundamental defect or dosha of the finite individual is his liability to experience sorrow and suffering, so also we may speak of an essential excellence in the Lord. It is, indeed, twofold—for the Paramātman is known as an Ubhayalinga—and each is a facet of His excellence. One reveals the Lord as the Almighty who is not only Himself spotlessly pure, but whose very presence is purifying, like an antidote against all impurities ; and the other shows Him as the one permanent abode of all auspicious excellences. (Heya-pratyanika-Kalyāṇaika-tānam). Just as the Jivātman remains unchanged through all the vicissitudes of the physical body, so also the Paramātman remains unaltered by the doshas of the Jiva and through all the fleeting variety of his experiences.

There is another surpassing quality in Him, and that is the fact that to attain Him He is Himself the most appropriate means. When the finite individual considers Him in this light, and adopts Him as both the End and Means, he surrenders his entire being to His loving care. This complete, unqualified offering of one's self to the Lord is known as Prapatti, and the person making the surrender is called a Prapanna. Prapatti is characterised by supreme trustfulness and complete self-surrender (Atma-nikshepah) born of a sense of utter helplessness apart from the Lord. It is an attitude, which becomes manifest in everyone of his activities. Rāmānuja's view is that this path of Prapatti is held up in the Vyāsa Sūtras as worthy of adoption by any aspirant after Moksha. It

would also follow as a logical inference from a proper consideration of the Lord's gunas or excellences.

Here arises the need to answer an objection, that if we regard the Paramātman as the means He cannot at the same time be the End. In speaking of Him as the means one has already conveyed the suggestion that there is something higher and greater than the Paramātman, which must be the end to be attained. As we seek to cross a river by means of a boat, and would have no further use for the boat, when we get to the other shore, we may seek to cross the sea of Samsāra by choosing the Paramātman as the appropriate means in order to attain some goal that lies beyond. In both the cases it is implied that the end to be attained is different from the means adopted. The Vedas themselves speak of the Para-brahman as the bridge that connects the present world with the Great Immortal beyond ; and this clearly shows that the end is different from the means. How then could we maintain the identity of the end and the means ?

Rāmānuja explains that the idea that the Lord is both the means (Sādhana) and the end (Sādhyā) is expressed by the Śrutis themselves. Let us read the Kaṭhopanishad-Vākyā, "Nāyamātmā pravaṇena labhyah, namedhayā, nabahunāśrutena", etc., which says that mere hearing (śravana), thinking (mananā) or meditation (dhyāna) cannot lead to the attainment of the Paramātman, and let us grasp its implication. "Yamevaisha vṛṇute tena labhyah, tasyaisha ātmāvivṛṇute tanūm svām", says the same Upanishad. Only by him, whom the Lord of His own accord chooses, on whom the Lord's grace descends, is He attainable. To that individual of His own choice does He reveal Himself, and offer Himself as the object of incomparable blissful experience. This is what the words quoted convey, and when we ponder over their significance we could clearly see the truth that in the attainment of Moksha the Lord is both the end and the means. "By that individual alone whom the Lord chooses is He attainable" clearly tells us that the means for the attainment of Moksha is the Lord Himself, for it depends solely on His choice. "For the blissful experience of the individual of His choice does He offer himself" shows that the end is also the Lord. It is the appropriateness of this conception of the Lord as both the Sādhana and the Sādhyā that Vyāsa expresses in the Sūtra, "Upapattesca". (3: 2: 34).

When Rāmānuja took up for consideration the Vākyam beginning with the words, "Nāyamātmā pravaṇena labhyah" in the earlier part of his commentary known as Laghu-Siddhānta, he interpreted it to mean that the Lord is not attainable by mere dhyāna dis-

sociated from love or preeti, and that meditation born of deep love and continually nourished by it is the means to attain Moksha. In the present context while elucidating the significance of the Sūtra "Upapattesça" he considers the same text from a different point of view, in order to express the identity of the end and the means with reference to the Lord. Though the points of view differ, they are mutually consistent. Rāmānuja's explanation of the Śruti in an earlier context and his elucidation of it in the present reveal the same core of truth underneath a superficial difference in emphasis. The primary object of the discussion in the context of the Laghu-Siddhānta was to show that mere meditation devoid of love and devotion could not lead to Moksha, and the Śruti referred to was cited as the textual basis on which the view rests. In Rāmānuja's own words what the Śruti means is expressed as follows:—"Priyatama evahi varaneeyo bhavati yasyāyam niratiśaya priyah. Saevāsyā priyatamo bhavati. Yathāyam priyatamaātmānam prapnoti tathā svayameva Bhagavān prayatate". (Śri Bhāshyam—1 : 1 : 1). The sequence of thought in these sentences may be elaborated in the following manner:—The Śruti. "Yamesha vṛṇute" speaks of that sentient being, whom the Lord of His own accord chooses. The individual, on whom the divine choice falls, must be an object of the Lord's extraordinary love, for otherwise he would not be chosen. Now, who is it that could become such an object of the Lord's great love? That individual, who on his part cherishes an intense love towards the Lord, becomes himself the chosen object of the Lord's great love, though this does not mean that a particular individual's love for the Lord, however extraordinary, is the cause of the Lord's great love for him. The Lord's choice is unconditional, and His love is natural and spontaneous, like a father's love for his child. It is not caused by the sentient being's attitude, but the individual's love for the Lord would serve to act as a reminder to himself of that deep, never-failing source of all love, on which he could always depend. He verily needs such reminders. The third sentence quoted above reveals the natural bond of love between man and God. It says that the Lord Himself adopts whatever method is best suited for converting a person into a deserving object of His own love, and tries to draw him to Himself. The Lord has given expression to this sentiment in the Bhagavad Gita (Tenth Chapter), which Rāmānuja cites. "Teshām satata�uktānām bhajatām preetipūvakam dadāmi buddhiyogam tam ena mām upayāntite". "To those, who aspire to be in constant association with me, I of my own accord give that Buddhi, through which they will be able to attain me", says the Lord. The Buddhi which is here spoken of as a gift

from the Lord to the individual is just the intense love for the Lord, which blossoms in the heart of the devotee. The love being itself a gift from the Lord clearly indicates that the Lord alone is ultimately the means to attain Him.

The next step that Vyāsa takes is to show that the Lord is also the giver of the fruit (phala-prada). The earlier sections of the Vedas prescribe appropriate karmas or courses of conduct and practice, which lead to the attainment of ends other than Moksha, while the later sections speak of Bhakti as the means for attaining the highest end. Here it is pointed out that although karma or bhakti may be said to secure a certain fruit, it is the Lord that really dispenses the fruit of karma and bhakti. Karma and bhakti cannot of themselves actually "give" the fruits. It is the Lord, who being pleased with the individual's performance of karma and offering of bhakti grants him the several gifts. Being omniscient and omnipotent He is the giver of all gifts, here as well as hereafter. The Sūtra, "phalamata upapatteh" conveys this idea. (3: 2: 37).

When we take the two Sūtras together, "upapattesça" and "phalamata upapatteh" the meaning that emerges from them is that the Lord is not only the means for the attainment of the Summum Bonum, but is also Himself the giver of the greatest of gifts. Now, this implies that Vyāsa has revealed prapatti as the Moksha Sādhana par excellence. Both bhakti and prapatti are treated as Mukhya-sādhanas or the chief instruments for the realisation of the fruit of Moksha. The chief sādhana is also called "upāya". It is bhakti that the aspirant for Moksha adopts as the upāya, when having known of the Paramātman and His innumerable excellences through a study of the sections like Ānandavalli of the Upanishads he keeps constantly meditating on Him and His gunas with a view to attaining the end. Here bhakti is regarded as the upāya, while the Lord is viewed as He who bestows the gift of Moksha on the devotee. The attitude of prapatti differs from this, in that being rooted in the full awareness of the significance of the Upanishadic truth, that the Jiva and the Brahman stand in the relation of body and soul, the prapanna declines to look up to anything other than the Paramātman or choose of his own accord any extraneous means for the realisation of Moksha. His conviction is reinforced by his personal experience of the manner in which his own body lies totally entrusted to the control and direction of the finite Jivātman within. The body does not take any initiative or make any attempts of its own to realise an end. Even so the Jivātman being the Śareera of the Paramātman ought to do nothing by way of choice of means, but look up to the Lord Himself as the best means. It is such a state of self-surrender that is described

as prapatti, and it considers the Lord as the upāya as well as the phala-prada.

It might appear that the texts prescribe bhakti and also indicate prapatti as the chief sādhana for the attainment of Moksha. The question may be asked, do the Upanishads and the Sūtras hold out both bhakti and prapatti as equally desirable and it is immaterial whether we choose the one or the other ? Or is there any preference shown ? In the light of the following points it must become evident that the emphasis is rather on prapatti than on bhakti as the chief sādhana :—(1) The Upanishads declare "Kāraṇantu dhyeyah," that is, in speaking of bhakti they say that the Jagat-kārana is the proper object of dhyāna or meditation. But in alluding to prapatti the śruti says, " tamhadevam ātmabuddhiḥ prakāśam mumukshurvai śaranam aham prapadye ",¹ which may be translated to mean, " I, who aspire for Moksha, surrender my whole being unto that Divine Cause of the Jagat, by whose grace my knowledge, that the Lord who is the Soul of all things is my only refuge, shines in its full brilliance ". While the vākyam in reference to bhakti merely asserts that the proper object of meditation is the Divine Cause of the Jagat, that alluding to prapatti strikes a personal note (Śaranam aham prapadye) and speaks of the path of prapatti as having been adopted in the practice of the Veda Purusha himself. (2) It is not in the third adhyāya—which relates to the means or the sādhana for the attainment of Moksha—that Vyāsa describes the character of bhakti. In the Sūtras already quoted he says that the Lord is the chief sādhana, that He is also the fruit devoutly sought after, and that He is the giver of the fruit as well. It is in the fourth adhyāya that Vyāsa describes the character of bhakti, and the fourth adhyāya deals with the phala or the fruit itself rather than the means for its attainment. This clearly tells us that in Vyasa's view the Lord alone is the chief sādhana for the attainment of Moksha. It has been already noted that in determining the significance of the śruti, " nāyamātmā pravaçanena labhyah " Vyāsa has accepted the scriptural testimony of the Gita, and that the text cited clearly reveals bhakti as a gift from the Lord to the Jiva. From this again it is evident that the Lord is Himself the chief sādhana. Vyāsa has accordingly described the Lord as the upāya as well as the giver of the fruit (phalaprada) in the third adhyāya, and has reserved the description of the nature of bhakti for the fourth adhyāya, which deals with the fruit or the phala. (3) Rāmānuja is one of those Ācāryas, who have accepted both the

1. Śvetāśvatara Upanishad.

Upanishads and the Sūtras as equally authentic. He has, therefore, followed in the footsteps of the Vedapurusha and Vyāsa. It is noteworthy that having elaborately dwelt upon the character of bhakti in the Śri Bhāshya he has shown a personal preference for prapatti in his work, Gadya-trayam, where he expresses himself as a true prapanna in relation to the Lord.

Thus the Vedapurusha, Vyāsa and Rāmānuja, who have all recognised the Śareerātma relation between the Jagat and the Lord, have expressed the full force of the conviction in practice, by adopting prapatti in preference to bhakti. Now, if prapatti were preferable to bhakti as the means leading to Moksha, how is it that the Upanishads, the Sūtras and the Bhāshya contain several references to bhakti as the sādhana ?

Man generally believes that in order to attain an end he must exert himself and "do" something. He clings to the delusion that his effort and his action are indispensable for the realisation of a desired end. Prapatti, however, demands a different attitude, for the essence of self-surrender lies in the freedom from the obsession that human effort is mainly responsible for the production of any result and in the awakening to a sense of total dependance on Him, who alone knows and can direct everything. If to the aspirant after Moksha the Śāstras merely said, "you need do nothing to attain the end, look up in unquestioning faith to the Lord, who is your Ātman", he would not easily accept the suggestion or adopt it in practice. Hence they prescribe bhakti as a sādhana, but when we examine how the prescription works, we find it in fact pointing to the Lord Himself as the sādhana. The Śāstras have been compared to a loving mother, who in administering a medicine to her sick child takes care to give it concealed in a sweet. It is not the sweet that causes the cure, but what is concealed in it. To the Jiva suffering from the myriad ills of Samsāra the śāstras indicate the Lord Himself as the one great panacea ; but man has too long been subject to a habit of thought to adopt this remedy straightforwardly in full faith. Being unable to root out the belief that without his own effort and action nothing can be achieved he prefers the path of bhakti, where something is expected to be "done" by him, to that of prapatti, which in comparison seems a passive state. The śāstras prescribe bhakti almost as a concession to human weakness. Their aim is to make man see that ultimately the Lord Himself is the best sādhana. Bhakti accordingly is a stepping-stone to prapatti. Man needs it just as a creeper in its early stages needs some tender twig to entwine itself and strengthen its stand before climbing on to more substantial support.

If we admit that the Lord Himself is the sādhana, does man need bhakti at all?

• Bhakti has been divided into three species :—(1) bhakti as the means for the attainment of Moksha, i.e. upāya bhakti (2) bhakti as part of the end itself, i.e. phala bhakti and (3) innate or inborn bhakti, i.e., sahaja bhakti. The first is easy to grasp, for it refers to that meditative discipline enjoined in the Vākyam, “ātmāvāre drashtavya śrotavya”, etc. of the Brhadāraṇyakopanishad. The second reveals bhakti as a necessary ingredient in the very fruit of attainment. So far as the prapanna is concerned he knows no upāya but the Lord Himself; and the state of his realisation is no other than one of unalloyed bliss inexhaustibly generated by the Divine Presence and steady service at the feet of the Lord. In such a state of blissful experience Bhakti plays an important and indispensable part, for it keeps the great passion for service constantly growing and preserves its blissful intensity undiminished. Only he who has appetite can relish good food, and likewise he alone would be capable of experiencing the divine bliss, who feels the urge of deep devotion. This bhakti-urge in him is not acquired through any effort of his own. It is a gift conferred on him by the Lord's grace. It is part of the fruit that he attains. He prays for it as he prays for the privilege of service at His feet. His prayer is answered and his longing realised, when he shuffles off the mortal coil and goes to his immortal home. Both the sādhana bhakti and the phala bhakti are gifts from God, but while one is viewed as the means to attain the end, the other is regarded as part of the end itself. The third species, sahaja bhakti is a rare quality found in those great souls, who from the very dawn of their earthly existence feel an innate longing to experience the divine bliss and serve at the divine feet. From their birth their mind and heart have been set on one great consummation, to attain which they have known no means but the Lord Himself. Their bhakti is like the pure fragrance of the tulasi plant, which manifests itself, even when it puts forth its first tender leaf. Unlike phala-bhakti, which is adventitious and comes to man in response to his prayer and after his departure from his earthly residence, sahaja bhakti is innate being born with him and conferred on him unasked. Corresponding to each of the three species of bhakti there is a type of bhakta or devotee. Both for the second and the third types the Lord alone is the prime moksha-sādhana; while for the first and the third, no less than for the second, bhakti is part of the fruit aimed at. The entire class of aspirants may, therefore, be grouped under two broad heads, viz. those that have adopted bhakti as the sādhana and those that look up to the Lord Himself as the best sādhana to attain Him. Both aim at the same

goal, but it is the attitude of the latter that is described as prapatti and indicated by Vyāsa as well as Rāmānuja as being in tune with the essential significance of the Śāstraic teachings. The character of bhakti as part of the fruit attainable is portrayed in the beginning of the fourth adhyāya. In Vyāsa's work, which consists of four adhyāyas, the first two relate to the Brahman as the cause of the jagat, the third speaks of the means to attain Him and the fourth describes the consummation devoutly longed for.

Before the aspirant for Moksha attains his goal he has to work off his karma completely, that is, he must reap the fruit of all his past actions, account for everything that has been acquired and stored up through long transmigrational series, for no Jiva is exempt from experiencing the effects of his karma, either within the span of a single life-time or through more births. One could, however, be not only saved the agony of a rebirth but assured of instantaneous Moksha, if the longing for one's liberation burns with that intensity, which makes even a moment's delay insufferable, such as we read described in the legend of Chintayanti, the cow-herd girl-devotee. But such instances are precious rare, and a Jiva having offered himself to the Lord in supreme self-surrender has ordinarily to bide his time till he is called to depart from his earthly abode.

The Upanishadic description of the liberated soul's journey to his Eternal Home and the princely status attained there by the Mukta ranks as poetry of the highest order. Leaving his physical body through the cerebral passage along the nerve known as the Mūrdhanya-nādi and possessing only the Sūkshma-śareera or the subtle body the Jiva starts on his other worldly journey along the paths described in the Upanishads as the Devapada and the Brahma-pada, receiving en route from celestial beings every honour and attention due to one bound for his Heavenly Home. When he reaches the great river, Virajānadi, and takes the purificatory bath, the liberated soul abandoning his Sūkshma-śareera gets adorned with a Divya Śareera (or Body Sublime), with which entering the Nitya Vibhūti he is ushered into the Lord's presence, where he claims the sonship of the King of kings, and shares in boundless bliss.

The Mukta-state, described as his Aiśvarya or his princely prerogative in the Eternal Realm, is characterised as in all respects equal to that of the Lord Himself. The śruti, "Niranjanah paramam sāmyam upaiti" expresses this idea of equality. Does this mean, one may ask, that the Mukta has acquired all the divine powers and privileges, including those of creation, preservation and destruction ? Does he become the Ruler of the worlds as well ?

It is this question that is discussed in the section known as Jagadvyāpāra varjādhi-karanam. To the pūrva-paksha that equality in every respect must imply the power to order and administer the worlds as well Vyāsa replies that the attribute of being the creator, sustainer, destroyer and ruler of the universe belongs to the Lord as His unique prerogative, His asādhāraṇa dharma, shared by none other. In support of this view Rāmānuja cites passages from the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita, and points out that we should be contradicting these texts, if we interpreted "paramam sāmyam" to mean equality in all respects without any exception. "paramam sāmyam" implies essential equality, equality in respects other than the possession of those unique attributes. It is equality in the measure of Ānanda experienced by all in the heavenly state,—by the Muktas, the Nityas as well as by the Lord Himself.

Rāmānuja turns his attention next to another question arising from a consideration of the same Upanishadic section (Taitteriya) beginning with the words, "Paramevyoman" and proceeding to state, "Sośnute sarvān kāmān saha Brahmanā vipascitā", revealing that the direct blissful experience of the divine qualities (guṇānubhava) is itself the be-all and end-all of the Mukta-state. Where then is the place for service at the feet of the Lord, which is considered to be the substance of the Muktiśvarya? It is pointed out that the blissful experience is not exhausted by a mere, passive contemplation of the Lord's great guṇas. If he should take his proper place as the śareera of the Lord, and function accordingly, he must serve the śareeri. It is on the relation of śareera to ātman that the Jiva and the Brahman stand, and the conception of kainkarya or service follows necessarily from this relation. It is an unalterable and irrevocable relationship, and the Jiva can never relinquish his right to serve his Lord. Indeed, it is described as Kainkarya-śree or the glory of service, and considered a unique blessing in itself.

In the closing sections of Śri Bhāshyam Rāmānuja discusses the question whether the Jiva may not entertain some reasonable doubts as to the permanent character of his acquisition, particularly in view of the fact that the Lord is an absolutely free being, a Svatantra, whom nothing can prevent from revising His decision, and that it is only as an act of grace the finite individual acquires the priceless status of a Mukta. That there could be no manner of justification for any such fear or doubt is expressed with redoubled emphasis in the sutra, "anāvṛttiśabdāt, anāvṛttiśabdāt", which is the last one in the last adhyāya. It reassures all that there is no return, no reversion in the sense of a fall to a former state of samsāric

bondage for the liberated individual. The Vedic texts, that speak of the glory of the Lord in the highest terms possible describing Him as the abode of all excellences, as all-loving and all-merciful, as one, who has no equal or superior, also describe the Mukta-state, and call it eternal. The Chāndogya Upanishad, for instance, says, “*Sakhalvevam vartayan yāvadāyusham Brahmalokam abhisampadyate, Naçapunarāvartate, naçapunarāvartate*”. The last two sentences clearly reiterate that there is no reversion, no return or “coming back” for the Mukta. The same assurance is given by the Lord in the Bhagavadgita, “*Mām upetya punarjanma duhkālayam aśāsvatam nāpnuvanti mahātmānah samsiddhimparamān-gatāḥ*”. (Chapter VIII). He reinforces this meaning when He significantly says in the same text that those, who reach other gods, must return to their earthly life.

To entertain any doubt in regard to the permanent character of the Mukta-state is not only inconsistent with the Pramānas cited above but also inadmissible to common sense and reason. In the Mukta-state the Jiva is unassociated with Karma and therefore free from all cause of bondage. He is in direct contact with the very fountain-head of all bliss. It is impossible to think that he would of his own accord choose to come away from such a state of bliss back to a life of bondage and suffering on earth. And it is equally impossible to think that the Lord, who out of his own unbounded love has redeemed the jiva, would choose to abandon him. The individual is too dear to the Paramātman to admit of any such contingency.

The Status of Women During the Epic Period

(Continued from page 268, Vol. XXVI, Part III)

BY

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(*The Sankara-Parvati Lectures*)

The transition from the Vedic to the Epic period is characterised by restricted freedom for women. They did not enjoy the privilege of free movement and fraternizing with the opposite sex as in the Vedic samanas. As women figure very largely in the Epics, it is possible to glean from them interesting bits of information relating to their social status and life in that period.

Types of Women : The Epics have dealt with many a type of women—Sītā and Sāvitri the ideal wives, and women of culture, who have been looked upon as patterns of feminine virtue, and self-sacrifice by all Hindu women ; Sumitrā the patient and uncomplaining wife, of a philosophic turn of mind ; Anasūya the woman ascetic spending her life in penance ; Kaikeyī, the selfish, haughty and merciless queen, proud of her beauty and power over her husband and insisting on “the pound of flesh” like Shylock ; Draupadi the accomplished and resourceful wife of the Pāṇḍavas, Śūrpanakha the treacherous, lecherous, deceitful and malicious Rakṣasi, and Mantharā the execrated, unprincipled and scheming sycophant who looked to her own interest and only indirectly to that of her mistress, and who did not mind throwing the whole kingdom in gloom and causing the death of the king.

Women and Education : Women seem to have had instruction in the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas, and the ceremonials connected with worship (religious instruction) chiefly from their parents and sometimes also from the elderly women of the household, the Brahman sages, and the ascetic women. The knowledge of scriptures, Purāṇas and smṛtis learnt in this way, seems to have been extensive. (Ram. 11-27-10, 11-29-13 and 11-118-21). (Kuṇbakonam edition).

Sītā refers to the moral instruction she received from her mother, when talking with Kausalyā and Anasūyā. She had come in contact with priests, pandits, astrologers and others, and was

conversant with many a branch of knowledge and was well up in Puranic lore. In dissuading Rāma from going armed into the Dañḍaka forest, Sītā narrated the Purāṇa story of Indra and the hermit, to prove that the possession of arms and weapons (preparedness for war) would certainly rouse the aggressive spirit, and a thirst for blood, and make people aggressive (Ram. 111-99-13, etc.). Again in requesting Hanumān not to punish the Rākṣasī guards, Sītā related the story of the bear and the ungrateful Brahman, from the Purāṇa (Ram. VI. 116-36, etc.).

Kaikeyī in her wrangle with Daśaratha displayed an extensive knowledge of the sacred scriptures, the purāṇas, history and the moral codes. She quoted chapter and verse to prove her contention. Tāra the wife of Vāli was a highly intelligent, cultured and resourceful woman of great courage. (Ram. IV-22-12, IV-15-9). When Vāli went out to fight, she even performed the blessing ceremony of Svastyayana wishing, Vāli Success, with sacred *Mantras*. This presupposes a certain amount of religious instruction (Ram. IV-16-12), and her quotation from the Purāṇas, while pacifying Lakṣmaṇa, indicates wide knowledge of the scriptures (Ram. IV-33-50 & IV-35-2). Mandodari's advise to Ravana in the War-Council discloses a knowledge of politics.

In the Mahābhārata Draupadi reveals herself as a very highly cultured and educated woman. Her discourse on 'Dharma' (righteous conduct) in the assembly when she was being subjected to the insults of Duryodhana and his brothers, shows her vast knowledge. As she was an exceedingly well instructed woman, she was able to argue with her sage lord Yudhiṣṭhira even on philosophy.¹ During the course of the discussion she says :—

"This I learnt (in childhood) as a sage (rsi) priest taught it to my brother while I sat on my father's lap and listened."²

Sāvitri³ was another accomplished princess, who in her arguments with Yama the God of Death reveals herself as a very clever disputant, and succeeds in getting back her husband alive (Mh. III-298. 48 FF)

1. Mh. III. 30 ; 31 ; 32 ; (Kumbakonam edition).

2. Mh. III. 32-60 FF.

Brāhmaṇam me pitā pūrvam vāsayāmāsa panditam
sarvam cārtham imam prāha pitre me bharatarṣabha
nītim brhaspatiproktām brātrn me grāhayat purā
teṣām sakāśād áśrauṣam aham etām tadā gṛhe
sa mām rājan karmavatīm āgatāmāha sāntvayan
śuśrūsamāṇāmāśinām pituraṅke yudhiṣṭhira

3. Mh. III. 298-24 ; 46 FF.

Besides literary pursuits, women were given a good training in music and dancing. The epics abound with references to such accomplishments. Kuśanābha's one hundred daughters are described in the Rāmāyaṇa as being proficient, in music both vocal and instrumental, as well as in dancing (Ram. I-32-12). King Virāṭa⁴ in the Mahābhārata asks Brhannalā⁵ skilled in fine arts to teach his daughter Uttarā music and dancing.

Some women of the suffragette type had even military training. Queen Kaikeyi was not only skilled in driving war chariots but was quite adept at rendering First-aid on the battle field. Subhadrā in the Mahābhārata is depicted as driving the military chariot in the battle field when she was carried away by Arjuna (Mh. I-244-7 F). It appears from the Rāmāyaṇa that women were trained as armed guards in Lankā. The Rākṣasī guards of Aśokavana where Sītā was imprisoned, were women soldiers bearing arms.

Post Puberty Marriage.⁶ Post puberty marriage was the rule of the day and the numerous allusions to marriages met with in the epics show that all the brides must have been adults and passed the age of puberty. To quote a few examples, Sītā and her sisters were taken immediately after their marriage and were described as enjoying the company of their husbands (Ram. I-77-15). In fact, Sītā herself told Anasūya (Ram. II-118-34F) that Janaka was worried about her marriage as soon as she had attained nubile age. The improper overtures of Vāyu to the daughters of king Kuśanābha who were sporting in the Udyāna or pleasure garden and their bold repulse to his improper advances is another case in point. (Ram. I. 32-12).

So far as we can see from the Mahābhārata the marriage of grown up girls was the recognised custom. Śakuntala, Subhadra,

4. Mh. IV-11-19.

Dadāmi te tam hi varam Brhannale sutām ca me nartaya yāśca yādrśih
nrtyāmi gāyāmi ca vādayāmyaham prānartane kauśalanaipuṇam me

5. Mh. IV-11-18.

Taduttarāyāḥ paridhatsva nartane bhavāmi devyā naradeva nartākī

6. (a) Sage Pulastya finding it impossible to carry on his penance on account of the disturbances by the sporting of the damsels in his hermitage is stated to have uttered a curse, that girls visiting the hermitage, thenceforth would become expectant mothers at once. This had the desired effect and kept off the girls. As this presumes a post-pubertic age of the girls and as the girls fully realised the significance of the curse, it can be inferred that all these girls must have attained the age of puberty (Ram. VII-2-13 and 16).

(b) Sumālin told his daughter to go and offer herself to the sage Viśravas as she was *fast losing her youth*. (Rām. VII-9-7 and 18 FF). We may safely infer from all these instances that the girls were married after puberty.

Damayantī and Draupadī⁷ were not children but adults conscious of their womanhood, when they were all married. The description of Draupadī at the time of the Svyamvara definitely shows that she was quite grown up. Uttara⁸ was in delicate health when her husband Abhimanyu died a few months after the marriage. Subhadra⁹ was a fully grown up woman when she was abducted by Arjuna. Not only Kṣatriya girls, but also Brahmin girls were married only after they had attained maturity as is evidenced by the case of Devayāni¹⁰ who got married to Yayāti. The example of a Brahmin girl¹¹ who grew old doing penance and later married a Rṣi proves the fact that late marriages were not unknown.

"The girls of the forests in their father's ascetic abodes, so often met with by kings and priests, were practically well developed and full grown".

Disparity of age between brides and grooms. Marriage of very young girls to old men was not unknown in those days. (Ram. II-32-30). The poor Brahman Trijaṭa who begged Rāma for a gift before his exile had a young wife and so also had Daśaratha married the young and haughty Kaikeyī (Ram. II-10-23). In the Mahābhārata also we find illustrations such as the marriage of Jaratkāra to a young girl (Mh. I. 46-21).

Girls' freedom of choice limited. Parents were not a negligible factor in the marriage compact.¹² They exercised their right of choosing a husband for their daughter. The epics are full of many such examples of parental rights, and the girls always abided by their father's decision in the selection of the bridegroom (Ram. I-10-30). (I. 32. 21 and I. 33-20).

7. Mh. I. 200-44.

8. Mh. X 15.39; XI 20.22.

9. Mh. I-242-5 FF.

10. Mh. I-72-22 FF; I. 75-47 FF.

11. Mh. IX 53-2F; 16 F.

12. (a) Sumālin asked his daughter to wed Viśravas (Ram. VII-9-11.).

(b) Janaka offered Sītā and Ürmilā his daughters without their consent to Rāma and Lakṣmana respectively and his nieces to the other two brothers of Rāma as advised by Viśvāmitra (R. I. 22-10).

(c) Kuśanābhā bestowed his daughters in marriage on Brahmadatta (Ram. I-33-19).

(d) Mandodari was bestowed by her father on Rāvana whom he met accidentally (Rām. VII. 12-17).

(e) Mh. I-64-116; I-94. 6 FF.

(The parents right was extended over boys also in the case of Rāma who refused to marry Sītā without knowing the intentions of his father. Rām. II-118-51).

Satyavatī told Parāśara “ Oh possessor of the six attributes, you know that I am a maiden and under the control of my father, O sinless Ṛṣi by accepting your embraces my virginity shall be destroyed and I feel ashamed to return home ”. (Mh. I. 64-116).

Svayamvara or the maiden's choice is wrongly understood by many people. The maiden's choice was restricted by the conditions attached to a *svayamvara*, such as “ breaking of a bow, skill in shooting, etc.” There does not seem to be the same freedom for the maidens in selecting their life partner as we witnessed in the vedic period. The choice was confined to a “ Panel of invited princes. It may also be noted that only Kṣatriya girls could choose their husbands in the *Svayamvara* arranged by the guardians. (Ram. I. 32-30). (Mh. I-200. 38 FF), although there could be suitors¹³ from other castes.

The girls did not see the husbands before the marriage, for neither Śantā nor Sītā, nor Gāndārī nor Kuntī had seen the bridegrooms before the marriage. Draupadī asserts herself in refusing Karṇa the right of trying the bow” on the basis that he was a Sūta (charioteer) but such a spirit was not always exhibited.

Types of marriages. Though eight types of marriages were recognised by Samskrit writers like Manu, we find references only to some of the types in the Rāmāyaṇa, while the Mahābhārata¹⁴ makes mention of all the different kinds¹⁵ (Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca).

Still another list in the Mahābhārata (XIII-78-5 ff) “ gives us the term “ Kṣatra (Warrior like)” or method peculiar to the warrior, as one immediately after the one for the priests (brahma) and is differentiated from the rākṣasa with which in the Sutras it is identical.”¹⁶ The lawful forms according to this would be the Brahma, Kṣātra and the Gāndharva while the unlawful ones were the āsura

13. Dhṛstadyumna says in Draupadi's *Svayamvara* that any one could take part in the archery context irrespective of his caste. Mh. I. 203-17 FF.

Brāhmaṇo vātha rājanya vaiśyo vā sūdra eva vā
eteśām yo dhanuhśrestham sajyam kuryāt Dvijottama || (19)

Tasmai pradeyā bhaginī satyamuktam mayā vacah || (20)

nāham varayāmi sūtam (Mh. I. 203. 17 FF) (Bombay edition).

14. Mh. I-94-14 FF.

15. “ The later law books and the epic describe in detail various forms of marriages, but they all seem reducible to three types. (a) that which is based on mutual consent Prājāpatya, (b) that in which a price is paid for the bride (āsura), ārṣa connected with ṛsis and brāhma relating to Brahmins or daiva-divine), (c) those which consist in stealing the bride, the Kṣātra (Warrior like) or the Rākṣasa (demon like).

16. See E. W. Hopkins. J.A.O.S.P. 354 F.

and *paisāca* = *rākṣasa*. The *Prājāpatya* was probably identical with the *Svayamvara*.

To quote a few illustrations, we have the Brahma type¹⁷ in the cases of Kuśanabhā's daughters.

(2) The *Prājāpatya* type is illustrated by the marriage of Sītā¹⁸ and Draupadī. (Ram. I. 73. 29 ; Mh. I. 200. 38 FF).

(3) The quasi āsura type is illustrated in the case of Kaikeyī. Daśaratha practically purchased her from the king of Kekayā at the price of his kingdom (Promised to her son (Ram. II-107-3), and the purchase of Mādrī¹⁹ for Pāṇḍu is another instance of this Āsura form of marriage (Mh. I-122-16).

(4) The Rāksasa type is illustrated in the case of Rāvaṇa and the abducted maidens. Whenever Rāvaṇa came in contact with beautiful maidens, he killed their guardians and took possession of the girls (Ram. VII-24-1 FF ; 25-40). This was a type that was condemned (Mh. XIII 78-9) but another form the milder type called the Kṣatra was advocated only for the Kṣatriyas. Arjuna's stealing Subhadrā and running away with her is the best example of such a type, although subsequently the marriage was celebrated in a regular manner (Mh. I. 247-32 FF).

(5) The Gāndharva type or love union was suggested by Śūrpanakha to Rāma (Ram. III-17-17, 25) Cirāya bhava me Bharta, and by Duṣyanta to Śakuntalā (Mh. I-94-20).

Marriage customs and rites. The formalities of marriage as inferred from the description of Sītā's marriage will give an idea of the epic marriages. The formal offer²⁰ of the bride by her father according to the customary formulae had to take place at the bride's residence in the presence of the priests and relations of both parties. It is to be noted that the offer was repeated thrice (Ram. I-71-21), and that the ceremony of Godāna and Nāndi Śrādha were performed on the day previous to the marriage.²¹ (Ram. I-71-22). It is very strange that there is no mention of the offer of betel leaves in wel-

17. See also Ram. VII. 2. 24 ; 3-3.

18. Janaka told Rāma to wed Sita as *Saha-Dharma-Cārini* and gave her fully adorned (Ram. I-73-29).

19. Tatpragrhyā dhanam sarvam śalyah samprītamānasah (Mh. I. 122-16)

20. Piṭā pitāmaho bhrātā mātā mātula eva ca

Upādhyāyartvi jaścaiva kanyādāne prabhūttamāḥ (Mh. I. 64-13)

Girls can be given in marriage by father, grandfather, mother, uncle, etc." (Mh. I. 64-13)

21. Flowers, sandal paste, vessels containing sprouting seeds, different vessels and pots, censers, conches, ladles, vessels with parched paddy (or popped rice), sanctified Akṣata (unbroken rice), Darbha grass, etc., were some of the requisites required for the marriage ceremony.

coming the guests (Ram. I-73-18 FF). The marriage rites had to be performed by the priest of the bridegroom with the help of the bride's priest.

The bride decked with jewellery and clad in silk was conducted by her father to the altar and offered with the customary formulae. "This is my daughter, do thou accept her as thy partner in all religious rites and grasp her hand in token of acceptance." The characteristic and important ritual was a three-fold circumambulation of the fire followed by a Homa. The bride departed usually the next day after marriage to her new home loaded. Throughout the marriage ceremonies music played an important part. (Ram. I-73. 41, Mh. I. 200-50). Almost all these details are being carried out exactly in the same way even to-day in South India—the same details of the marriage ceremonies have been followed for at least over 2,500 years, proving the faithful preservation of the traditions in this land.

*Dowry*²² or *gifting*. In those days it was not customary to buy bride-grooms as is done at present in India. The princes, seeking the hands of maidens in a *Svayamvara*, had to perform some valorous feat as in the case of Sītā's and Draupadi's *Svayamvara*. This was called *Virya Śulka* or dowry of prowess. In the case of aged kings desiring to marry young princesses some consideration was offered as in the case of princess Kaikeyī (II-107-3) where *Rājya-Śulka* was offered.

In the case of Brahmins, no dowry of any kind was given on either side. The maid was given and taken with Vedic rites. There is no reference in the two epics to the custom of the other castes than Dvijas. Dowries were neither given to bride-grooms nor demanded as a rule though it was customary to give presents. Various presents were given to the brides when departing for the husband's house. (1-74-3 FF; Mh. I-215-27, I-247-32 FF and IV-78-46 FF). The presents were called *Kanyādhana* (1-74-6).

Mixed marriages. Mixed marriages were not unknown. Śāntā, the Kṣatriya Princess was married to the Brahman ascetic Rśya-śrīṅga (Ram. 1-10-30) Mh. 1-114-11). The daughter of King Trīṇabindu was married to sage Pulastya (Ram. VII-2-24). It was considered dignified and meritorious for Royal Princesses to marry

22. The word is not used in the legal sense. It is used in the sense in which it is used in Southern India, at present, by the educated people—practically purchase money paid to the bride-groom's father; (or to the bride's father when old men negotiate for the hands of young girls).

Brahman sages, to wait on them and to minister to their comforts. The marriage of a girl with a man of a higher caste raised her status and that of her progeny, while the marriage of a girl with a man of a lower caste lowered the status of herself and her progeny. Frequent references to Sutas and Magadhas are met with in the poem. The progeny of Brahman women and Kṣatriya men belonged to the Sūta class who were charioteers and panegyrists. The progeny of Kṣatriya women and Vaiśya men belonged to the Māgadha class whose duty was to rouse kings in the mornings—professional bards and minstrels).

Polygamy. Polygamy was very common amongst the kings, who used to have large harems. Daśaratha in addition to the three queens, had a harem of three hundred and fifty women (Ram. II-34-13). There must have been some difference in the status of these women and the three queens.

Rāvaṇa's harem of course was prodigiously large (Ram. V-9-6). His harem is called the “Forest of Women” by Vālmiki (Ram. V-9-66). In the subsequent slokas it is described as consisting of royal princesses daughters of the celestials Rākṣasa girls, etc., (Ram. V-9-69 ; V-11-44). Many heroes in the Mahābhārata are credited with a plurality of wives. Polygamy was confined not only to the Kṣatriyas but was permitted for the Brahmins²³ also. (Mh. XIII 79-11).

Monogamy. Even in that Polygamous age, Monogamy was highly esteemed, and considered as the *ideal form of marriage* in the Rāmāyaṇa period (Ram. II-66-44). The blind ascetic who cursed Daśaratha blessed his dying son and wished him to attain the regions obtained by people observing ekapatnivrata (monogamy) for he could not think of any superior reward for his merits. Throughout the Rāmāyaṇa we find Rama²⁴ being praised for monogamy and he never married another wife even for the performance of a yajña and substituted a golden image of Sītā in the wife's place. (Ram. VII-99-8).

Polyandry. There is no reference to Polyandry in the Rāmāyaṇa, whereas during the Mahābhārata period it was probably not uncommon. The appropriation of Tārā wife of Vāli by Sugrīva ; brother of her husband is considered as an instance of Polyandry

23. The Brahman sage Viśravas wedded at first Bharadvāja's daughter, Devavarṇinī (Ram. VII. 3, 3), and later Kaikasī mother of Rāvana (Ram. VII. 9-11).

24. Mantharā's references to the many wives of Rāma refer to a possibility and not to actual facts (Ram. II-18-12). The accusation of Rāma by Sītā are the words of an angry woman. (Ram. V. 28-14).

but perhaps such a thing was allowed by the tribal custom and it is therefore no evidence of Polyandry.

' This custom of Polyandry seems to have been Unaryan practised by the Pāñdavas who five in number are represented as marrying one wife, in spite of the protests of the girl's father. His protests were met with some mythical legends cited in support of Polyandry. Hopkins²⁵ says that that it was not polyandry in question but "Phratriogamy"—the one woman marries brothers—a family marriage. The legends quoted in the Mahābhārata to prove the existence of Polyandry are that of Jaṭila Gautamī who (Mh. I. 211-14) is said in an old tale to have had seven husbands and the other that of Vārkṣā (Mh. I 211-15) who married ten brothers Prācetasas. One is led to infer that polyandry though known was not allowed, and in the absence of other authorities we may assume it to be an Unaryan custom. ("Zimmer²⁶ thinks that Polyandry is disproved for the vedic age by the moral tone regarding adultery ;—but the negative evidence furnished by the Veda is strong enough to make us refuse to believe that such a custom was in vogue".)

Marriage a sacrament. Marriage was a religious sacrament. The contract between the bride and the bridegroom was sealed in the presence of the Fire and other deities, and venerable Brahmans. The husband and wife formed only one individual according to the scriptures. In all religious ceremonies, the presence of the wife was indispensable (Ram. I. 14-33, I-73-29, 11-4-23 and 36, 11-6-1, &c., and VI-131-58) (Mh. XIII-82. 32 F).

Courting and Love. Most of the girls of the upper classes were secluded and they sported evidently only in private parks (Udyāna) attached to the mansions for their use. Their chastity was jealously guarded and they had no opportunity of meeting would be suitors. Courting (before marriage) as in the Vedic samanas was practically non-existent and the only courting described in the Rāmāyaṇa in detail is the illicit courting of Rāvaṇa when he abducted Sītā (III-46-15, &c., III-47-26 &c. III-48-11 &c., III-49-11 &c. and V-21-6 &c.).

Although courting as is common amongst the western nations before the marriage was unknown in the epic period, and though marriages were arranged, they proved happy. The conjugal love displayed by women and their husbands was intense and the whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa is based on the intense conjugal love of

25. E. W. Hopkins Position of the Ruling Caste in ancient India. J.A., O.S., p. 354.

26. " " p. 355.

Rāma and Sītā and the subsequent distress on account of their separation. Love after marriage was fostered by mutual consideration and constant association, by the religious feeling that they were bound for ever, for weal or woe, and by the husband's kind and considerable treatment of the maid who had left her home and parents, suddenly for the strange unknown home of her wedded husband. It must be remembered that the maidens were taken away by the husbands immediately after the completion of the rites. The lament of Tārā over the dying Vāli and that of Mandodarī over Rāvaṇa's corpse in the 114th Canto of the Yudha Kāṇḍa bear testimony to the intensity with which the wives loved their loving husbands, though their fathers chose the husbands. In the case of Brahmins the love element, though not absent, played only a minor part in their relations. The wife considered it her duty to perform Śisrūṣa for her husband, who was always performing penances, and to help him in religious ceremonies. The wife's life was spent in personal services to the husband, feeding the sacred fire and partaking with the husband in all fasts and ceremonies. The married life was looked upon as *One Round of Duties*. The sex element played a very minor part in their lives.

The "Ideal" of chastity was highly valued in those days, inspite of the laxity that prevailed in Bhārata period. The girls as well as their fathers were very sensitive on this point for we find Śukra cursing king Daṇḍa and annihilating his whole kingdom (Ram. VII-18-7 FF) when he ravished his daughter Araja. When Rāvaṇa stroked the hair of her head, Vedavatī after cursing him (Ram. VII-17-27) cut off her hair and then entered the fire. Sita's chastity forms the theme of the whole story of the Ramayana. Even a suspicion of unchastity was, not tolerated in the case of such paragons of virtue as Sita (Ram. VII-43-16 FF) and Ahalya (Ram. I. 48-28 FF; VII 30. 42 FF). Sāvitrī and Nalāyinī are proverbial for their high moral conduct and chastity. (Mh. III. 295-26 FF) (I. 213-4)

Kidnapping or abducting women was considered despicable and women could not be looked at full in the face even by their brothers-in-law (Ram. IV-6. 20 FF). Lakṣmaṇa never looked Sītā in the face and while walking, men walked ahead, the women following, and this custom was perhaps due to the desire to avoid vulgar staring and to show the way. Vālmīki was followed by Sītā behind when going to the hermitage and Draupadī went behind the Pāṇḍavas when leaving for the forest (Mh. VI. 102-7). But during funeral ceremonies women led the way (Ram. II-102-21) (Husbands and wives do not seem to have walked side by side (Ram. VII-49-17).

Ideal wife. The Hindu ideal of a wife has remained the same, since the epic period. The two verses in the Rāmāyaṇa (Ram. II-12-66 and 67) describe the type of wife desired by the Hindus. The ideal wife was described by Daśaratha as ministering unto the husband like a slave, like a friend, like a mother, like a sister and like a wife according to circumstances, fond of children and always speaking pleasantly, etc. This has been the ideal from the husbands' point of view).

Pātivratyā—Loyalty to the husband. “Pātivratyā” means fidelity to the husband. It is something more than chastity or purity on the part of the wife. A pativrata is one who is not merely chaste in body and mind ; but who also completely loses her identity in her husband and shares the sufferings and joys of her husband as a deity. She never thinks of her own interests or comforts at any time. Her sole object is to serve and please her husband in every way.

The men who composed the various scriptures and Purāṇas considered it highly desirable in their own interests to praise the “Pativrata” as the ideal woman. Sītā in objecting to be left behind by Rāma when going to the forest, compared herself to Sāvitrī who was considered the highest type of a Pativrata in India. Women were said to be protected by the fire of their chastity or “Pātivratyā” (Ram. II-45-25). When Sītā was unjustly banished to the hermitage of Vālmīki, she told Lakṣmaṇa that she approved of Rāma's action and that it was her duty at all costs to help Rāma in wiping off the public scandal about them, as the husband was the deity, the preceptor and the most intimate relation of the wife (Ram. VII-48-16). Thus we see that the women of the day acquiesced with the view of men.

Wife's duty. The duty of the wife was to attend upon the husband (Mh. III. 234-39). Husbands should not be forsaken even mentally, particularly when in trouble. (Ram. 11-24-11, &c., and 11-30. 24). It is the incarnate husband that makes the wife glorious—the woman's sole hope and possession.

Draupadi's discourse on the art of tackling husbands in the 234th chapter of the Vana Parva is an excellent exposition of wifely duties. To a question of Satyabhāmā who wished to know why the Pāṇḍus were so fond of her :—“is it vows and penance, both, or texts or magic herbs, force of text or force of roots, or sickness caused by muttering prayers ? Draupadi replied “The man that has a wife addicted to vedic texts and roots, it is said, would be as much afraid of her as of a snake that had got into the house (Mh.

III. 234-13) and added that magic was to be applied against enemies alone, not as love philtres ; " a good wife avoids egotism, wrath, waits on her lord, etc., and so wins his love ; she does not joke and mock, she receives him gladly with a seat, water and kind words ", etc. This idea was carried in those days to great extremes.

Wife's status. A woman was considered unfit for independence at any time, as she required protection throughout her life ; from her father in childhood, from her husband during youth and from the son during old age (Ram. 11-29-18). Husband, son and relations were the natural protectors of married women (Ram. II-61-27). The wife was always expected to carry out the wishes of the husband (Ram. II-95 A-7).

Wives of kings : Their lot. Being shut up and strictly guarded in the zenana by eunuchs and others, they spent their time with music and dancing. (Ram. II-10-12, &c.). Their quarters were no doubt luxuriously fitted up but they could not get out of the palace as a rule. (Ram. VII-35-56).

Inspite of the tenderness and love and regard paid to the wives, kings used to offer their queens as part of the fee to the sacrificial priests in the *Aśvamedha*. Though the offer could be redeemed by payment of money, the practice (the ceremonial gift) shows that the husband considered the wives as his " goods " to some extent.

Women and dress. Women in India have always been fond of decking themselves with jewels and this jewel mania of Hindu women has existed from the earliest times. All the women characters in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are described as being adorned with various jewels, flowers, fragrant sandal and dressed in silk clothing.²⁷

Like the present day Hindu girls, the brides were heavily decked with ornaments at the time of marriage. Sītā and Draupadī wore all the known varieties of jewels, when they were married (Ram. I-73-26) (Mh. II. 200-46). The Brahman women also in those days must have put on all the kind of jewels described above, as Brahman priests are described as being presented by kings with various jewels and gems. Rāma presented his priest with Sītā's jewels for delivery to the priest's wife (Ram. 11-32-7).

27. (The jewels worn were nūpura, māla, Muktāhāra, Mekhalā, hema-sūtra, Hemamāla, Kundala, Karna Veṣṭa, Cūḍāmani, Keyūra, Svadamṣṭra). In the epics we do not find any reference to the nose-screw—evidently a later innovation; but vaidya says that its absence need not lead to such conclusion. (*Epic India* by Vaidya, p. 154).

Women and clothing. Women's clothing consisted of silk, cotton and linen. Silk or Kṣāuma or Kauśeya was the favourite fabric and royal dames were described as Kauśeyavāsinī (Mh. I. 246-10). The colours frequently mentioned were yellow (Ram. V-15-20) and red²⁸ (Mh. I. 246-10) (V. 14-7) though we meet with references to other colours (Ram. V. 9-30) also like blue (Ram. VII-26-14 FF) and black²⁹ etc., (Mh. IV. 11-1 F) or white (Mh. I. 108-49). The silk worn sometimes had lace borders (V. 15-44) and was of a fine texture (Mh. IV. 14-17).

The women evidently wore two cloths, as in the Vedic period one round the waist and another Uttariya (upper cloth) thrown over the shoulders and covering the body, and both were often of one colour (Ram. V. 15-44 and 46). Sītā at the wedding was clad in a lower garment of yellow silk embroidered with figures of swans, and well covered with a red upper garment or Uttariya which probably served as a mantle as well. The body was well enclosed by the upper garment, to avoid public gaze (Rām. I-73-27). Draupadi also during her marriage has been described as wearing two pieces of silk (Dukūla Dwaya Dhāviṇī and Br̥hannalā the lady music teacher in Virāta Palace is alluded to as wearing two pieces of clothing black and red in colour (Mh. IV-11-1 F).

As the upper cloth or Uttariya was simply thrown over the shoulders. Sita was able to take it off easily, tie her jewels and throw the bundle over the R̥syamūka hill without being notice by Rāvaṇa to give a clue to Rāma. In the Aśoka vana she had only the lower garment and is said to have covered her waist with drawn up thighs, and the upper portion with her folded arms (V. 19-3 and 20). Probably the Uttariya used to be dispensed with at times for Draupadi³⁰ is described as picking up the Uttariya to cover herself as soon as she saw the servant of Jayadratha. The Uttariya was worn by women of respectable families only and when Draupadi assumed the disguise of Sairindri³¹ at Virāṭa's Palace, she appeared in Ekavastra before the queen Sudesñā.

The women of those days must have tied money or jewels when moving about, in a corner of their cloth. Even at the present day, our women carry money or small jewels in a knot at the saree. Sītā is described (Ram. V.-67-30) as unloosening the knot at the

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| 28. Raktakauśeyavāsinīm subhadrām | (Mh. I. 246. 10) |
| 29. Krṣne ca rakte ca nibadhyā vāsasi | (Mh. XI. 9. 9 F). |
| 30. Samgrhṇatī Kauśikamuttariyam | (Mh. III. 267. 1). |
| 31. Vāsaśca paridhāyakam krṣnā sumalinam mahat | (Mh. IV. 14. 2) |

end of her cloth where she had hid her crest jewel or Cūḍāmaṇi and giving it to Hanuman for delivery to Rāma. The presence of a free end, to tie the jewel, points to the lower garment *not being a stitched petticoat* but a piece of cloth simply tied round the waist and having loose ends. The women in those days must have worn the garment loosely knotted round the waist and fastened with a belt Raśana. While relating the crow incident to Hanumān Sita told Hanumān that her lower garment got loose when she pulled her belt or Raśana to hit the crow (V-38-17). While Añjana, mother of Hanumān, clad with silk was sporting on a hill, her garments are said to have been blown away by the wind and her body is said to have been exposed, revealing the charms of her body. These details about the lower garment are again borne out by the description of Draupadi's attire who is mentioned as adhonīvi (with lower knot) and as ekavastra (clad in single cloth) when she was dragged to the assembly and subjected to the humiliation of being disrobed. It seems therefore that the nether cloth was so worn as to be easily pulled away. If the cloth had been tied in the Carnatic or Mahratta fashion, the cloth could neither have been blown away by the wind nor displaced easily. (Mh. II-89-31).

There is a reference to a woman's jacket (*Kañcuka*) in the Rāmāyaṇa. In the Mahābhārata also there is an allusion to the *Kañcuka*³² of women (Mh. IV. 3-41) where Arjuna who is to disguise himself as Br̥hannala thinks of hiding the arrow marks on his wrist by wearing a *Kañcuka* and therefore it may be inferred that the *Kañcuka*'s of women were long enough to cover the wrist. As regards head-dress the servant girls of Indrajit are described as wearing turbans, (Ram. VI-80-6).

Women's Toilette : Women paid great attention to their toilette. Cosmetics and unguents of various kinds were used. They used to part the hair on the head right in the middle and plait it and let the braid (*Veni*)⁸³ hang down at the back. But when they were absent from their husbands or in grief, they avoided parting in the middle of the top of the head (*Simanta*) and only combed back the hair and plaited it as *Ekaveni* (Ram. II-10.8, V-15-24, V. 1920 ;

32. Imau kinikrtau bāhū jyāghātatalapiḍanāt
nityam kañcukasamchannau nānyathā goptumutsahe (Mh. IV. 3. 41)
33. Venikṛtasirā bhūtvā bhaviṣyāmi brhannalā
Dirghavenīm vidhūnvānah sādhurakte ca vāsasi (Mh. IV. 39. 34)
Venikṛkalāpam nirdhūya pravibhāti nararsabhabhā

and V. 58-53). Sometimes the hair³⁴ was braided round the head and adorned with flowers, Draupadi while disguised as Sairandhri is said to have tied her long hair in a knot on the right side.³⁵

Women were particularly fond of wearing beauty spots on the forehead (Ram. V-9-46). Gorocana (yellow in colour) and Gairika (of orange colour) (Ram. II 95A-18) were commonly used for the purpose and so also manassila-red colour (Mh. I. 200-46). Tilak was also made of gold sometimes (Ram. II. 95 A-18 ; and 11-9-48) and was intended to enhance the beauty of the face. (Ram. III-16-8). (Mh. I. 200. 47) but was not used when in grief. Sandal paste coloured with saffron for smearing the chest and arms was very popular. They adorned their faces and body with Patralekha or Patrasanga-ornamental patterns with Gorocana an yellow pigment (Ram. IV. 30-56) (Mh. IV. 200-43). They also dyed their feet with red liquid lac (Ram. 11-60-18) and the use of Añjana for anointing eye-lids was not uncommon (Mh. I-200-45).

Women and Drink. Women were quite as much addicted to drink as men, during the Epic period, and drinking must have been very common. They were encouraged to drink by their lovers, who considered the tremulous and glistening eyes of drunken women as particularly beautiful and indicative of passion. They are described (when the idea of beauty has to be woven in description) as Mada Vihvalākṣi and Madirekṣanā (Ram. IV-33-37) : Rāma used to make Sita drink, and offer the inebriating cup to her himself (Ram. VII-42-18). Women³⁶ in the Mahābhārata are described as enjoying themselves with drink (Mh. I. 75-3) and that also of rare varieties. (I. 248-36).

The Purdah or (curtain) rule : Goṣa. The Goṣa system was prevalent during the epic period among the Kṣatriyas (Ram. VII. 34-56). There is nothing to warrant the assumption that anything like the vedic freedom survived. We find that during the funeral of Daśaratha, his queens marched out of the city to the cremation ground, in litters surrounded by old people. (Ram. II-76-19). Sugrīva's Zenana is described as well guarded (IV-33-18) *Sumahat Guptām*.

The Goṣa system was not only prevalent in Ayodhyā and Kiṣkindhā hut in Laṅkā also for Mandodarī asked dead Rāvaṇa why

- 34. Dhūposmanā ca keśānām ādrabhāvam vyapohata
babandhurasyā dhammillam mālyaiṣsurabhigandhibhiḥ
susamyatā cāpi Jaṭā vibhaktā dvaitikṛtā bhāti lalāṭadeśe (Mh. I. 200. 42)
- 35. kuñcitāgrāmstu sūksmāgrāndarśanīyānnibadhyā sā
jugūhe dakṣine pārśve mr̥duṇāyatalocanā (Mh. IV. 14. 14)
- 36. Kriḍantyo'bhiratāssarvāḥ pibantyo madhumādhavī (Mh. I. 75. 3)

he was not angry with her and co-wives for coming to the battle-field (on foot), without covering themselves with mantle or veil.³⁷

They were evidently not allowed to come out of the Zenana on foot like common women (Ram. VI-114-61 and IV. 25-41) and armed women were employed to keep a vigilant guard over the inmates and to keep order.

In the Mahābhārata where Draupadī was dragged into the Sabhā where the men sat gambling she cries out in her distress, "I whom neither wind, nor sun have ever beheld at home, I now enter the assembly hall".³⁸ "This indignity even more than the forcible dis-robing seems to fire the indignation of the helpless heroes".³⁹ Again the Kaurava⁴⁰ ladies when going to the battle-field to have a last look at their dead husbands are described as those who were now being exposed to the vulgar gaze of the common people who before had not been seen even by the Gods. All these instances only indicate that women were kept in seclusion and well guarded.

The description of the Zenana as being a very well guarded place is a further proof of the seclusion of women. No one could enter the inner apartment easily and the door keepers were called *pratihāris* (Ram. II-10-20) and the Superintendents were generally old men, wearing orange coloured robes and carrying canes in their hands who exercised great authority (Ram. II-16-2) over the eunuchs employed in the harem (Ram. II. 65-7).

The wives of the noble citizens, used to see the royal processions *through the latticed windows of the upper storeys*. They themselves could not be seen by the crowd while they could see the crowds through the openings in the lattices. Then watching the procession, they used to shower flowers on the princes driving along the royal roads (Ram. 11-16-87).

There was no Goṣa for Brahmin girls for during the royal processions, the Brahmin girls used to circumambulate the kings or princes when passing through the main thorough-fares and offer them flowers and fruits and puffed rice (*Lāja*). Kausālā refers to this practice (Ram. 11-43-15). They attended the coronation ceremonies in public (Ram. 11-14-30 and VI-131-61) Ram. (11-67-17 F).

37. Evidently only immodest and fallen women went about without mantle (Ram. VI-114-60-61).

38. Vide (Mh. II. 91-4 F).

39. E. W. Hopkins, Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India, XIII. J.A.O.S. p. 349.

40. (Mh. XI-9-9 F).

It can be safely presumed that the Goṣa system was confined to the princes and the aristocratic ladies and that most of the women of the other classes were not particular.

Women's desire for male progeny. The birth of a son in preference to a girl (especially in the case of the first born child) was an occasion of extreme joy to the mother. When describing the desolation of Ayodhyā after Rāma's departure, Vālmīki has stated that mothers had no joy even at the sight of their first born male child (Ram. II-41-10).

The partiality for sons on the part of the Hindu mothers is not of recent date and echoes the sentiment of the Vedic period. As has been already pointed out in the vedic period, the dislike for girls was not due to any want of affection on the part of the parents, but due to the trouble in getting suitable husbands for the girls (Ram. 11-29-17) (VII. 9.9).

Women as dancing girls. Some women used to follow the profession of dancing and were skilled in music and the art of captivating men. They used to be well adorned with jewels and fine clothing and were utilized as "Decoys" to tempt sages like R'sya-sringa, Viśvāmitra, etc., (Ram. I-10-5, I-63-5FF; I. 64-1FF and III. 35-16 ; Mh. III-113-2FF). They were known as Ganikas⁴¹ or Vārā-mukhyas or Veśyas. (Ram. I-10-5F) (II-14-39) (Mh. XI-333-12). These dancing girls played an important part in the various festivities, sacrifices, concerts, and entertainment of princes (Ram. III-35-16) and dancing masters (Śailūṣa) used to direct the concerts.

Women and precedence. Precedence⁴² seems to have been enjoyed by women in mounting carriages, boats and other vehicles.

41. The Ganikas, Vāramukhyas, Vārānganas correspond to the dancing girls in the modern phraseology. Most of them were courtesans, and some of them however must have remained pure songsters and dancers. All the dancing girls were not necessarily bad women. When priest Vasiṣṭha was directing the arrangements for Rama's coronation, he told the officers, that the musicians and dancing girls of good character (Subhācārāḥ) (Ram. II. 15-8), should be posted in the middle compartment of the palace. The dancing masters or Śailūṣas not only trained the dancing girls but also functioned as pimps in the case of girls who took to prostitution (Ram. II-83-15). The celestial dancing girls, the apsaras seem to have had some code of morality amongst them. As has already been pointed out, they were not accessible every day to everybody. The incident of Rambhā and Nala Kūbara and that of Maya (Ram. VII. 26-21 FF) may be quoted as examples of their steadfastness. (Ram. VII-12-6 FF).

42. When Rama's party crossed the Ganges Sita was placed in the boat first. (Ram. II-52-75).

To cite an instance when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa left for the forest in a chariot, Sītā is said to have taken her seat first, and then Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (Ram. II-40-14 FF). The Mahābhārata depicts Subhadrā as having ascended the chariot first and taking possession of the reins. (Mh. I. 143-18).

Women could not be killed. The killing of a woman was not only condemned but considered a heinous crime also (Ram. IV. 24-37). They were often disfigured⁴³ for example Rama while refusing to kill Tāṭakā disabled and disfigured her (Ram. I. 26-13FF) Bhīṣma in the Mahābhārata declared that women should not be killed (Mh. XIII. 58-9F). It was not only Military etiquette which prohibited the slaying of women (*na hantavyāḥ*—arising out of considerations due to the weaker sex), but it was considered as one's Dharma or duty to refrain from killing⁴⁴ woman and they are described as *Avadyāḥ*.⁴⁵

Women and domestic service. The epic period was a voluptuous age when people were fond of music, dancing, arrangements, fine clothes, scents and flowers, sports and dalliance with women. The domestic servants of the king doing personal services were all young, beautiful, handsomely dressed maidens. They were all trained to work as bath attendants on the princes and were experts in bathing, massaging, dressing, etc., Vibhīṣaṇa offered the services of such maidens to Rāma for his bath and toilette (Ram. VI-124-3). Yudhīṣṭhra is described as being waited upon by hundreds of such female servants (Mh. IV. 234-48FF). Neither the maidens nor the princes seem to have considered such personal services immodest.

*Woman's right to perform religious rites.*⁴⁶ Women took part in the sacrifices and funeral ceremonies. Daśaratha's queens played an important part in the horse sacrifice (Ram. I. 8-23 & I. 14-33 FF)

43. Ram. III. 18-21 ; III. 34-11 ; III. 69-16.

44. The killing of woman, though usually considered a sin, was excusable when done by a prince for the benefit of the subjects. (Ram. I. 26-16 FF).

45. Mh. III. 209-48.

"The accomplished maidens of the dancing girls class enjoyed a privileged position at court, an evil practice continued by most Indian princes up to recent times, and perhaps, in some cases, to the present day. Such woman were employed as housemaids, shampooers, and garland makers. They were entitled to present the king with water, perfumes, dress and garlands. They held the royal umbrella, fan and golden pitcher, and attended the sovereign when he was seated on his throne, or riding in a chariot, p. 79. V. Smith, Oxford History of India.

46. See also Ram. II 4-23, 33, 36 ; II-5-9, II-6-1. II-25-26 FF. II. 55-7, VI-131-58.

and Kausalyā had to kill the sacrificial horse with sword and used to perform even Homa in the fire (Ram. II-20-16 FF). When Sītā, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were crossing the Ganges, it was Sītā who offered the prayers (Ram. II. 52-81FF).

In the 25th Sarga of Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa is a detailed description of all the blessing ceremonies that Kausalyā performed for Rāma. It was the custom for the women of the house to attend to the auspicious decorations of the house, on festive occasions like Coronation,⁴⁷ and woman had the right of attending to the daily agni-hotra (Fire worship) in the absence of husbands⁴⁸ from home. In the Mahābhārata, Kripi, the wife of Drona, is described as performing the funeral rites for her husband. Again the Kaurava ladies are depicted as offering Udakakriyā⁴⁹ (water oblations) to the dead. Women could even perform penance like men as in the case of Vedavatī, Anasūya, Ahalyā, Nalayani,⁵⁰ and Amba.⁵¹

Property rights of women : Women and property. There is no mention of inheritance of property by women anywhere not even the unmarried daughter as during the Vedic period. On the occasion of her marriage, parents used to give valuable presents of money, clothes, jewels, chariots, cows, elephants, horses, slave girls, etc., (Mh. I. 215-27 ; 247-32FF, IV 78-46 FF). This Kanyādhanam is stridhanam in modern phraseology (Ram. I. 74-3 FF) and these presents are the woman's exclusive property. Kings used to assign property⁵² to their wives and give them absolute right over the property and the queens generally used the income in charitable gifts, and religious rites as their personal needs were looked after in the palaces. The son of the daughter⁵³ Dauhitra may inherit property in default of sons but the wife's right was confined only to gifts and not to the husband's property.

Beauty⁵⁴ in women. As the influence of women over men is largely due to their beauty, it is worth while to discuss the accepted

47. Ram. VII. 63-16.

48. Ram. II. 75-13.

49. Mh. (136-31, XI-27-3 ff).

50. Mh. I. 213-11 FF.

51. Mh. V. 186. 19 FF.

52. Kausalyā had many villages settled on her by Daśaratha (Ram. II. 31-22) for the maintenance of her dependants and for charitable gifts.

53. Mh. I. 235-25 FF. Arjuna when getting married to Citrāngada the daughter of King Citravāhana of Manalur.....in the south (Coromandel Coast) had to promise that he would allow his son to be adopted by his father-in-law. See also Mh. XIII 80-12 F.

54. a. Rāmāyana. II-13-21 &c., 11-16-121, II-30-30 ; 42 11-60-17, III-34-14 &c., 20, III-46-17 &c., IV-66-131, VI-12-13 &c., VII-24-7 &c. VII-26-18 &c., 22 & VII 37 F 27 &c.

standards of beauty during the epic period. The elements of female beauty were : a golden or light pink complexion ; a straight and slim figure ; a moonlike face ; a prominent nose beautifully arched eye-brows ; eyelids resembling the petals of a lotus ; large expressive eyes ; black pupils ; ruddy lips ; white and even teeth ; a smiling face ; a sweet voice ; large, round, firm and closely set breasts ; a slender waist ; large round and well formed hips ; tapering thighs ; soft hands and fingers with pink nails ; black, long and wavy hair ; general symmetry and stable gait.

Widow remarriage. There is no reference to widow-remarriage in the epics, but the practice of niyoga or levirate had gained recognition. It was regarded as a substitute for re-marriage and was approved as a legal device for begetting children and the custom seems to have been widely prevalent in royal families. ‘Niyoga’ is the deputation of the husbands conjugal rights to his brother or a kinsman either after his death or even before it ! The Mahābhārata refers to many an instance of niyoga, for example Satyavati⁵⁵ addressing Bhīṣma says : “ These wives of thy brother, the amiable daughters of the ruler of Kāśi, possessing beauty and youth, have become desirous of children. Therefore, O thou of mighty arms, at my command, raise offspring on them for the perpetuation of our line ! It is therefore evident that this common device of ‘niyoga’⁵⁶ for

b. The races famous for beautiful women were the Devas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Yaksas, Dānavas (Ram. III-31)-29 & III-34-17) (Mh. II-10-5 FF).

Hṛī, Kirti, Śri, Lakṣmī, Apsaras (like Rambha, Menaka) and Rati were considered typically beautiful women.

c. Mahābhārata, Mh. I. 92-14 ; I-97-5 FF. I-103-51 FF. I-188-9. IV-14-17 FF. IV. 14-21-FF.

d. Vide Agni Purāṇa (translated by M. N. Dutt. P. Vol. II. P. 883 (A woman.....whose cheeks resembled that of the Madhukā flower and whose arched eye brows do not meet each other over the root of the nose, should be considered as a desirable bride, though possessed of other objectionable features.

e. Br. Sam. 70-60 FF (Gives tests of woman's correct form).

55. P. C. Roy. The Mahābhārata (translation) Ādi Parva, p. 217, 221.

56. The custom of ‘niyoga’ seems to have been in existence in ancient Greece and Rome. Lykurgus, the law giver, permitted men to associate worthy persons with them in the task of begetting children, and taught them to ridicule those who insisted on the exclusive possession of their wives, and who were ready to fight and kill people and maintain their right. It was permitted to an elderly husband, with a young wife, to associate with himself any well born youth when he might fancy, and to adopt the offspring as his own. Plutarch's Lives—Lykurgus (translated by Aubrey Stewart and George Long—Bell & Sons). P. 82.

having children on issueless widows or wives⁵⁷ was quite an established fact, and helped to mitigate their miseries.

‘Widowhood. The married women of the epic period dreaded widowhood⁵⁸ and considered it the worst misfortune that could happen to women. Uttara laments over the death of Abhimanyu and her widowhood (Mh. XI-20-17FF). All the widows going to the battle-field to see the dead are described as being dressed only in one garment (Ekavastra)⁵⁹ with no ornaments and with loose hair. It is therefore quite evident that women wore only the lower garment and discarded the Uttariya or the upper one in times of distress.

Suttee or self-immolation. It has been mentioned by some scholars, that the custom of Suttee was not prevalent during the Rāmāyaṇa age. But there are references to the practice of Suttee, in the Rāmāyaṇa. The wife of the blind ascetic whose son was shot by Daśaratha by mistake ascended the funeral pyre with her husband (III-65-58).

Princess Vedavati, daughter of the Royal Sage Kusadhwaja told Rāvana that her father was slain by the Daitya, Dambu, and that her mother entered the funeral pyre of her husband (VII-17-14). The practice of Suttee is also alluded to in other places. After the death of Daśaratha, Kausalyā determined to enter the fire embracing her husband as a true Pativrata (II-66-12). Thus it may be safely presumed that this custom of Suttee was not unknown in

57. Kunti was requested by her husband Pāṇḍu, who longed for children to practice 'Niyoga' O thou of fair look, it behoveth thee to raise offspring at my command, through some Brāhmaṇa possessed of high ascetic merit! For then, owing to thee, O thou of fair hips, I may go the way that is reserved for those that are blessed with children'—P. C. Roy—Mahābhārata. Adi Parva. P. 249.

58. Ram. (II-42-21, II-66-8 ; IV. 20-15, IV. 23-12, VI-114-37, VII 24-25 and VII 25-43.

Mh. XI. 9-9 F; XI 9-15; XI 14-7, XI 20-17 FF and XI 21-12, FF).

59. Adṛṣṭapūrvā yā nāryah purā devagānairapi
prthagjanena dṛsyante tāstadā nihatesvarāḥ
prakiryā keśān suśubhān bhūṣāṇyavamucya ca
ekavastradharā nāryah paripeturanāthavat

(Mh. XI. 9 9 F)

Vide Balfour, Cyclopaedia of India article "Suttee".

E. Thomson Suttee.

“ E. Thomson, Suttee.”
“ Vincent Smith, Oxford History of India, page 62, 665. (According to
Vincent Smith “Suttee was probably a Scythian rite introduced from Central
Asia”.....There can be little doubt that Suttee rite was brought into
India by early immigrants over the N. Western Passes). There is no evidence
to prove that it was introduced from Scythia.

See also Mh. (I-134-67 FF).

the Rāmā�ana period. The Mahābhāratha both knows and ignores Suttee. The self immolation of Mādrī, one of the two wives of Pāṇḍu is a case in point. She after a lengthy argument between her and her co-wife Kuntī is allowed the privilege of entering her husband's pyre' (Mh. I. 134-111). But after the great war in Kurukṣetra none of the numerous royal ladies burnt herself which clearly proves that the custom though in existence was very rarely resorted to. The social injustice against women became a feature of the later ages—especially the Sutra period, when woman's liberty was restricted. She was allowed no choice in the selection of her husband, and was married at an age "when she was incapable of understanding the real significance of marriage and exercising her own judgment and discretion. Woman-hood was sacrificed at the altar of supposed social convenience and purity, and out of its ashes arose a race of cribbed, cabined, confined and delicate creatures.. With her degeneration began the degeneration of the people which has continued down to the present times with rapid and disastrous acceleration".

Reviews

THE TRAVELS OF THE ABBÉ CARRÉ IN INDIA AND THE NEAR EAST, 1672 TO 1674—by Lady Fawcett and edited by Sir Charles Fawcett, assisted by Sir Richard Burn—Volume III —Return journey to France with an account of the Sicilian revolt against Spanish rule at Messina—The Hakluyt Society, London, 1948, pages xxiii, 677 to 941.

The first two volumes of this book, translated and edited by the same persons, were issued for 1947 by the Hakluyt Society, as Nos. 95 and 96 of the Second Series. This third volume gives an outline of Carré's return voyage first from Madras to Bombay, with despatches sent by the French Admiral de la Haye from San Thome where he was engaged in withstanding its siege against the combined forces of the Dutch and of Golconda, thence to Surat and to Bandar Abbas and then overland to Aleppo and Alexandretta and finally to Messina and Marseilles.

The Abbé was a staunch admirer of France, but everywhere his observations are sound and impartial. In the first place, he is full of praise for the sound and efficient management of English ships and for the faithfulness and honesty of their captains ; and he remarks that “one can certainly give the English the title of navigators as there is no other maritime nation that in general equals them in the matter of navigation ; and if they are more proud and haughty on sea than on land, though they have enough arrogance everywhere, they have some ground for it.” He further observes that the English ships were generally well ordered and everyone of them was a little republic in itself with every sailor capable at his task. He has also incidentally mentioned how the English sent from home every year some young ladies as wives for their officers in the East. The Abbé expressed himself vigorously against Governor Langhorne of Madras for his openly inimical attitude to de la Haye, the French Viceroy, whose friendly offers he had always rejected, the only reason being obviously his jealousy at having the French as near neighbours.

After a voyage lasting over twelve weeks the English fleet in which the Abbé Carré sailed reached Bombay, after touching at various places on the Malabar Coast. Among the details of historical importance mentioned is an account of the stabbing of Somashekara Nayak, the Keladi chief of Bednur, in a domestic conspiracy, an echo of which is found in the account of the contemporary

English traveller, Dr. Fryer. The French factory at Tellicherry which was torn by internal discord was then being restored into something like order by M. Boureau, of Rajapur. The Abbé deplored the lack of capable directors in the Surat Factory of the French. Honowar had become useless for any kind of trade, but still the English contrived to have some trade here. The English factory at Karwar was well fortified round which Arab, Persian and foreign merchants camped for protection. The English ships used also to traffic secretly in diamonds with Portuguese of Goa. The Muslim governor of Mirjan solicited the English to settle in the French factory of the place which had been abandoned by them and attempted to be occupied by the Dutch.

At Bombay the Abbé heard from Governor Aungier that since his own departure from San Thome the Dutch had brought Golconda over to their side and their combined forces had entrenched themselves in the woods of Triplicane, situated midway between Madras and San Thome, in order to prevent any food or help coming from the former town reaching the beleagured place. Carré was now thoroughly convinced that the English at Madras, though technically at enmity with the Dutch and at peace with France, were taking an anti-French attitude, merely on account of their jealousy. The Abbé even suggested to Aungier that some money might be despatched by him to de la Haye which would be repaid after the Abbé's arrival at Surat.

Thana and Bassein, both in Portuguese occupation, are next described. Bassein was, in Carré's opinion, the richest and the best governed Portuguese town in India ; it had a convenient creek and a good ship-building yard. Numerous deserters from the French Army of San Thome were encountered by the Abbé in all these places where the prevailing tendency of the Portuguese to marry their daughters to Frenchmen is illustrated by several instances of the tricks to which they resorted for this purpose. The Abbé thus caustically remarks :—"Certainly, if I had to describe what occurs in Goa, Chaul, Bassein, Daman, and other Portuguese places, I should have to write a book containing an account of all imaginable vices in the world."

During the Abbé's stay at Surat he did his best to raise the fallen name of the French who had recently lost the privilege, enjoyed by the other European nations, of flying Royal Flag over their factory. He strove hard to persuade a Frenchman who had been entrusted with a large sum to be delivered to the Vicereoy at San Thome, but who wilfully and senselessly chose to stay on near Surat keeping the money with him for months together. This

person, who had been commissioned by Colbert, to take the money quickly to San Thome, reached Pondicherry after six months of travel across the Peninsula ; and when he reached Pondicherry, he gave over the money to Sher Khan Lodi the Bijapur governor of that part of the Coromandel Coast, for its being handed over through Golconda Agency. But then it was too late, and de la Haye had capitulated to the Dutch a few days before. In the opinion of Martin this lack of money was the principal cause of the loss of San Thome by the French.

The French ship, *Soleil d'Orient*, did not take home from Surat a full cargo, though it had stayed a considerable time on the coast. Remarking on this the Abbé contrasted the indifference of the French merchants who allowed their goods to rot in the godowns both in France and in India or else despatched them to Bantam and other eastern places where profit and commission were high. The French in their eastern factories totally lacked order, discipline and obedience. "Sometimes they worked a little better under vigorous directors, but it was only by a forced constraint, which could not last long. Now everyone did as he pleased ; and the lowest clerk considered himself as great as the two chief merchants of the Company, who governed all its affairs." Discipline was so lax that Indians thought that the French factors could oblige their Company to discharge even their private debts.

At Bandar Abbas the Abbé met the famous Jean (Sir John) Chardin who made several voyages to Persia and wrote a most important book on that country. Chardin was a Frenchman who had extensively travelled in Persia and the Near East and who was driven by religious persecution to settle in England, where he was knighted by Charles II. He died in 1712 and his authoritative account of Persia (first published in full in 4 volumes at Amsterdam in 1735) enabled that Asiatic country to be better known to Europe than any other country of the East.

The futility of the French Mission that then went to the Shah of Persia is next described. The Abbé's journey from Bandar Abbas to Basra is detailed in Chapter VI. At Kung there was a colony of Hindus (besides the Jews); who were subjected to extortion here, as at Bandar Abbas. We learn that the Arabs of this coast were totally condemnatory of the Portuguese whom they accused of living only by rapine and theft. As the land route from Basra to Baghdad was unsafe because of their upsurging of the Arabs against their Turkish masters (consequent on the Polish victories over the Turks in 1673 gained by John Sobieski) the hardy Abbé

went from Qurna by the Euphrates and then up by the Shatt-al-Hai branch of the Tigris, a route which was unusual for Europeans to take in those days. At Baghdad he met the young orientalist, Petit de la Croix who had been commissioned by Colbert to learn the Persian language among Persians and who contrived to pass everywhere for a Turk or an Arab. The Abbé showed the young Orientalist, all over the city of Baghdad which he says was the third town to be built on the ruins of ancient Babylon. Evidently he held that the first Babylon was destroyed by Shennacherib in 689 B.C., and the second one was built by Esar haddon which was deserted in 275 B.C., and Muslim Baghdad itself was founded in the 8th century, though a Sumerian town might have pre-existed on its site ; while the original Round Town of Mansur had disappeared, the new town had grown mainly out of the extension on the eastern bank of the Euphrettes. In the course of the desert march to Aleppo from Baghdad, the Abbé was plundered by a brigand of almost everything that he possessed. He then sailed from Alexandretta for Messina passing by way of Cyprus and Zante. The Abbé's account of the Sicilians' revolution at Messina against Spanish rule and his further journey to Marseilles are not of interest to us.

Throughout, the narrative contains several observations on the excellence of English methods of ship-organisation, trade and factory administration ; and we learn that these were observable in the conduct of both the East India and the Levant Companies. Thus English profits were made in return for English goods sold, whereas the French commodities often hardly paid the cost of the return voyage ; and French merchantmen had no escorting vessels to protect them against pirates and the dreaded Barbary Corsairs. The Abbé's narrative abruptly ends with his arrival at Marseilles. As has been well remarked in the Introduction, the narrative shows that the Abbé not only discharged his mission from Colbert "with a zeal and thoroughness that deserved well of his king and country, but also to have been an astute, upright and kindly man, an entertaining reconleur, a courageous critique even of his own countrymen and an enterprising and observant traveller." We only wish we had been given the privilege of reviewing Volumes I and II of the *Travels of the Abbé Carré WHICH ARE OF MORE IMMEDIATE INTEREST TO INDIAN SCHOLARS AND READERS OF THIS JOURNAL.*

C. S. S.

DELHI-CHUNKING—A Travel Diary by K. P. S. Menon, Indian Political Service—Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru, Oxford University Press, 1947—Pages viii and 257.

The author of this book has adventurously trodden the laborious route taken in the past by famous travellers like Hsuan Tsang and Marco Polo. The most important of the regions through which he passed in the course of his self-imposed culture-pilgrim route is Sinkiang which was traversed by several illustrious men in the past. He has given in a very significant paragraph of his preface, a glimpse of the chief historical vicissitudes through which Sinkiang has passed down to the present day, when, for the first time, since the Chinese Revolution in 1911, it came to be directly controlled by the Central Government. Chinese culture has not been vitiated by any *odium theologicum* in the millenniums of its evolution. The old official faith of Confucianism was essentially a body of moral precepts, as also was Taoism which had, perhaps, a greater pretension to metaphysics, while the ethical system of the Buddha which filtered into the land had much in common with Taoism and was easily acceptable to the Chinese heart and character. But many other religions entered the land, though not as formidable competitors. First Zealots, and the Fire-Worshippers of Persia, then early Muslims—(including Wahd-Abi-Kabha, the maternal uncle of the Prophet), who had found their way into the country even during Hsuan Tsang's life time; then Nestorian missionaries who introduced Christianity, which, after due examination, was declared by Imperial Decree to be a satisfactory and permissible faith and so on down to the infiltration of Jesuits and other Christian Missionaries.

Now, apart from the interesting and acute observation indulged in by our author, in the narrative of his march through Karakoram gorges and Pamir Plateau and the Khotan and Kashgar regions, the reader is attracted by the charm of the narrative of his march from Tashgurkhan (from Chapter IV—In the Footsteps of Hsuan Tsang), full of most instructive matter for the student of Asiatic History and Culture. There were two routes open to the first modern Indian Ambassador to China, one which was followed by Marco Polo in A.D. 1256 and the other by Hsuan Tsang in A.D. 642. The latter debouched in the great plain of Central Asia at Yangi-hissar, very near Kashgar and Khotan of historic fame. Hsuan Tsang made a most adventurous journey both on his forward march to India and on his return. About the passes he crossed the pilgrim had written: "There even in summer one suffers from squalls and eddies of snow-storm. Just a few wretched plants manage to root

in ground that is almost always frozen. No grain will sprout and no trace of man is to be found in all this vast solitude." Marco Polo travelled along the more northern of the two routes, through Kashgar and by Lob-Nor to China. Khotan through which our author passed was peopled in Fa-Hian's time by men who were lovers of religious music, while Hsuan Tsang found it a land of song and dance.

Mr. Menon has some humorous reminiscences about Khotan and Karashahr, among them an anecdote of General Fenghsiang, known as the Christian General, who figured prominently in the Civil Wars of China about a decade ago, and who baptised in his zeal a whole regiment of converts with a fire-hose. Likewise, we admire, without any mental flutter, our author's description of Hinduism as contrasted with Christianity and Islam given on page 82.

In his march between Yarkhand and Yangi-hissar our author was able to have a clear view of the mighty Kunlun Mountains which Marco Polo has not even referred to, having presumably not seen them in the mist prevalent for the greater part of the year. In his remarks on this ancient city, Mr. Menon gives us a fine account of General Panchao, the great Chinese Warrior of the 1st Century A.D. and of his temple and springs which were pointed out to Sir Percy Sykes as his most enduring monuments. He writes very feelingly that the city filled him with sorrow. "If the towns had spirits, the Spirit of Kashgar would stand where I did on this grey October evening, and thinking of all that she had endured through the centuries, sing the autumnal song of Hsin Chi-chi, simple and touching as a sigh." From Kashgar we go with Mr. Menon to Kuchar and to Qaro Shahr, by the Pass of the Iron Gate, which has a certain grimness in its appearance even like the Khyber Pass. Here Turkestan ends and Western China begins. We then pass on to Turfan which is below sea-level and to Urumchi, the most delightful of all marches in Sinkiang." The Turfan depression enjoyed in the past a very highly developed civilisation marked by Baudhha, Manichaeon and Nestorian religious impress, and rich with texts of these religions written in Nagari, early Turki and Sogdian; and we read with a feeling of pathos that men of these different religions lived in harmony until about A.D. 1000 when Islam came, and the rich heritage of the past was blotted out—to be recovered with great difficulty by scholars like Aurel Stein of our age.

Apart from a great many observations on the current culture or lack of culture prevalent among the peoples of the dreary regions

through which he passed, which are however, relievedly and frequently interspersed with acute references to their past glory, Mr. Menon keeps up throughout the narrative an unflaggingly arresting style, marked by shrewd mother-wit and sly peeps of humour, ever reminding us of things Indian. He pities the Mongols of Singkiang, many thousands of whom were without hope, without God and without a preacher. From Singkiang to the Kansu Corridor, flanked on one side by lofty mountains and on the other by the limitless desert, was the last exciting phase of his great and memorable journey. The sanctity of Hsing Lung Shan a beauty-spot of the neighbourhood, is explained by a shrewd observation that the Mongol Princes of the neighbourhood who were loyal to the Chinese connexion arranged for the removal of the great Genghis Khan's tomb into the interior of China lest it might become a rallying point for the puppet state of Inner Mongolia started under the auspices of the Japanese. We learn that all Mongols believe that the great Khan will one day rise from his tomb and establish a universal empire ; but not under Japanese auspices.

Our author is necessarily one of the ceaseless caravan of the great travellers along the culture routes of Eurasia. This scholarly travel book which he has given is more than sufficient indication that, underlying his secular intellectualism, is a great vein of respect for the past, particularly for the cultural currents that flowed criss-crosswise throughout Inner Asia in those pregnant centuries when cultures and religions blended and lived harmoniously together.

C. S. S.

NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS, Volume II, The Expansion of the Maratha Power (1707-1772) and Volume III, Sunset over Maharashtra, (1772-1848), pages 12, 10, 565 and 522, by Govind Sakharam Sardesai, B.A.—Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1948.

In the issue of the Journal of Indian History for August 1947, the first volume of this great work, entitled "Sivaji and His Line, 1600-1707", was reviewed, with the remark that the book would stand forth as a very fitting cover to the whole formative epoch of Maratha History. With striking speed the veteran author has brought out the succeeding two volumes he then promised. In these three volumes he has, as he aimed, poured out to the sympathetic reader all that "an ordinary son of Maharashtra has thought and felt, as he studied and pondered on the storied past of his country during his life of more than four-score years." A comprehensive and sympathetic, yet frankly outspoken, interpretation of Maratha achievements and failure, marks the entire tone of the narrative.

The second volume opens with an account of the personality and life of Chhatrapati Shahu ; and it lays stress on the evil of the perpetuation of the dual monarchy in the Chhatrapati's line for which he was responsible in a measure, as the rival line of Kolhapur was given generous terms even after a final defeat in the Treaty of Warna of 1731. It was in the critical reign of Farrukh Siyar that a new era of prosperity and expansion dawned for the Marathas. The genius of the first Peshwa, the understanding contact between Shahu and Maharajah Sawai Jaya Singh and the measures resorted to by the Sayyids, led to far-reaching ideological and political relations for the Maratha power. It is clear that the concept of the Hindupad Padshahi, when it was first evolved, was not one of territorial ambition, but mostly limited to the religious field. The reaction of this concept on Maratha aims as they developed in later times has also been stressed in several places. The statecraft of the first Peshwa bore fruit in the understanding with the Mughal Power in 1718 by which formal grants for *Swaraj*, *Chauthai* and *Sardeshmukhi* were secured. These three items are described as having been, in their origin, separate institutions not connected with one another, though they became intertwined in the process of implementation. Their actual working led to considerable complexity of political relations and created many points of friction. This complexity explains in some measure the motives of Maratha encroachment into Northern India under the early Peshwas.

Mr. Sardesai perceives a similarity between Clive's acceptance of the Diwani of Bengal in 1765 and the Mughal grant of 1719 to the Marathas ; and he would absolve the first Peshwa from the charge, usually brought against him, of having sown seeds of disunion and ruin, by this acquisition, among the Maratha leaders. The rise of Nizam-ul-mulk to practical independence in the Deccan from the battle of Sakhar-Khedla created for the Marathas a permanent source of trouble and danger which affected in a most intimate manner their future policy both in the north and in the south. In fact, its immediate consequence was the starting of Baji Rao's manipulation of his relations with the Nizam-ul-mulk, so as to secure the diversion of Maratha military energies across the Nar-mada into Malwa and Bundelkhand. The almost epic grandeur of Maratha successes and territorial expansion under Peshwa Baji Rao I is explained as being due, among other factors, to the careful avoidance of extreme action against enemies. This momentous factor of moderation in victory practically disappeared under the succeeding Peshwa. Shahu's softness of heart is held to have been one of the root causes for the internal decay in the Maratha State. We also read how the Hingne Papers have been utilised

for building up the real inside story of Maratha penetration in the North, for which material from the Maratha side has been lacking. The account of the Maratha penetration into Orissa and Bengal reveals, in clear relief, the conflict between the centralising and centrifugal forces operating in the State. The ten years' struggle of Raghuji Bhonsle in Bengal ending in 1751 reflected great credit on Raghuji but brought about depression and anarchy in the eastern provinces. The southward expansion of Maratha arms in the direction of Mysore and the Karnatak is narrated at some length. Herein we see how the Chhatrapati was very much concerned that his cousin of Tanjore should be safeguarded from his Muslim enemies and secured in a Hindu bloc. Whether either the Chhatrapati or the Peshwas were more responsible than the other for the growing conservatism in the administration, it is not possible to determine at this distance of time ; but that the former was definitely so is made clear in this book. The doings of Dabhade and the Gaikwad in the critical years following 1748 are shown in all their complicated lines of intrigue and counter-intrigue. In the South, Maratha achievement for nearly two decades was practically undone by Haidar Ali who took advantage of the Panipat disaster to recover lost ground ; and even the fruit of the Udgir victory (1760) could not be enjoyed on account of the rapid deterioration in Northern India from 1758. These reverses culminating in Panipat are explained in several chapters ; and Najib Khan is portrayed in full outline as the prime instrument. most responsible for the Maratha ruin. The culmination at Panipat is shown to have been caused by the mishandling of diplomatic and political activity of Raghunath Rao, by the growing differences between Sindia and Holkar, and by the mismanagement of camp organisation, as being the principal, among other factors. The Peshwa's failure to go north to succour his army and leaders in time to avert the crisis, was another important factor.

Peshwa Madhava Rao's rule saw the emergence of Mahadji Sindia into prominence, as well as the recovery of lost prestige to an appreciable extent. It witnessed, likewise, the growing jealousy of the revived Maratha power shown by the British at Bombay. Though internally Raghunatha Rao's truculence was an enervating factor, it did not as yet openly injure the external facade of the State. But the premature death of the Peshwa, deemed to be the greatest of his line in point of character, started an era of violent domestic dissensions and civil war that soon brought about the long-drawn struggle with the English.

Raghunatha Rao's complicity in the murder of his nephew and his growing demoralisation are narrated very clearly in the tracing

of the counter-measures for dealing with the usurper and his allies. Nana Fadnavis is shown to have risen up to his highest stature in this crisis. His endeavour to build up, at least for the moment, the grand quadruple alliance—the idea of which was first mooted by Nizam Ali Khan—is perhaps a little overstressed as to its importance.

The author stresses the point that Hastings conceded fully the claim of Mahadji to enjoy an entirely free hand in managing the affairs of North India, while Nana Fadnavis had to give up Haidar Ali who had long warned him against a separate treaty with the common enemy. The Treaty of Salbai, in reality, was forces on the Maratha State by the conflicting interests and aims of its chiefs and confederates, two of whom had been seduced by the enemy. Mahadji's cleverness in dealing with the problems of control of the bewildering, almost anarchical, politics of the Rajput States, of Delhi and of the Doab, and his building up of a European-trained army which was most effective against these powers, did not shut out from his vision the steady advance of the British to supremacy, both in arms and in diplomacy. His experience of Poona politics in his last days convinced him as to the futility of his endeavours to strengthen the Peshwa's authority in the State as against disintegrating factors and taught him that even the Nana had been resorting to intrigues and irregularities. Our author is of the opinion that had Mahadji lived for a few more years, he could and would have secured the co-operation of Tipu, the Nizam, the Rajputs and his brother-Maratha chiefs as against the British menace; at least he would have seen that there was a really decisive contest between United India and the alien British.

The futility of the showy victory of Kharda the tragedy of the young Peishwa's death, the unleashing of the forces of anarchy, extending even to the capital city of Poona itself, of which not the least spectacular feature was the war of the Sindian ladies against Daulat Rao, the miserable shifts to which Nana was reduced, as against the alliance between Sindia and the new Peishwa and the minister's death in 1800—these form a fitting prelude of witches' revelry to the tragedy of Bassein in which Maratha independence was bartered away, for a song literally.

Though in his private life Nana Fadnavis was a man of the strictest veracity and great humanity, in public life he was far worse than a Machievelli for the times; and strictures are rightly passed against his resort to low intrigue, particularly after 1796, as it hastened the disruption of the Maratha polity. The close of the century was marked by the disappearance of the great personalities of the preceding generation and the emergence of two

incompetent youths, while the British side was fortified by the appearance of brilliant diplomats and warriors, like Arthur Wellesley, Close and Elphinstone. The sad story of the rapid degeneracy of Maratha diplomacy preceding the outbreak of hostilities in 1803 and the tragic collapse of Maratha arms in the Wars of 1803-04, has been very feelingly told.

Peshwa Baji Rao's conduct after Bassein was devoid of faithfulness to the British power and of loyalty or even fairness towards his subjects and servants. It has been justly remarked that the history of the appalling, but inevitable, tragedy of the final collapse of the Maratha powers in 1815-18 should correctly take account of the odds arrayed against the downfall of the degenerate Maratha polity. But it is worthy of note that even in these last days of rapid downfall, except he of Baroda, every other Maratha chief sympathised with the falling Peshwa. The letters of Captain Robertson to Elphinstone, the main architect of the final tragedy of the Marathas, give an appallingly sad picture of Maratha society at the time of the British occupation of Poona. Naturally one may consider whether the last Peshwa was not in reality so much a product of his times and environment as to make him a mere microcosm of the degeneracy that marked the whole Maratha *regime* and society. In these days there worked a strange combination of weak characters at the helm of affairs, a selfish and greedy aristocracy of traitors and sardars and a commonalty that could breed spies and traitors, not to speak of the overpowering British opposition ; all these tended to the sad end.

The generous restoration of the Chhatrapati's house at Satara by Elphinstone was soon marred by the callous British treatment of Pratap Singh and his brother who succeeded on his abdication. The British grasping policy, quickly reached the climax, *viz.*, the extinction of that Raj on the unjustifiable pretext of lack of natural heirs—bolstered up by the casuistic arguments of Willoughby at Bombay and the imperialistic unscrupulousness of Dalhousie at Calcutta. So the last vestiges of the houses of Sivaji and of the Peshwa disappeared, the one caught up in the whirlwind of Dalhousie's annexations, and the other in the storm of the Mutiny.

The veteran author is to be warmly congratulated on the completion of his New History which will certainly occupy the front rank as a most comprehensive, definitive and standard authority, side by side with the work of Grant-Duff and certainly on a higher plane than that of Kincaid and Parasnisi.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (*Annals of the —*),
Vol. XXVIII, Parts III-IV, 1947, pub. 1948.

(a) *Political and Cultural Relations between Iran and India*, by J. M. Unvala. From 3500 B.C.—(i) Prehistoric, (ii) Proto-historic, (iii) Achaemenian, (iv) Seleucian, Graeco-Bactrian, Saka and Parthian, (v) Sassanian, and (vi) Post-Sassanian periods. “The culture of the Indus valley is Proto-Dravidian and decidedly pre-Aryan”. “Another branch (Pallavas) of the Parthians or Pahlavas worked their way gradually from the north (of India) down to Malabar and the Coromandel coast”. (No Pallavas in Malabar—Ed. J.I.H.)

(b) *King Makers in Ancient India*.

By Dr. Miss P. C. Dharma. They played “an important part in the election of kings”; referred to in the Atharva-veda, and Brahmanas. They were: charioteer, war-chariot maker, artisan, village headman, and a noble; these five in the early period. Later they were: Brahmana, Rajanya, chief queen, charioteer, chamberlain, treasurer, tax-collector, huntsman, courier, carpenter, king’s father, and others. By the time of the Ramayana and Mahabharata “the succession of the eldest son became the general rule”, but the king makers continued to play an important part.

(c) *History of Rangavalli (Rangoli) Art (A.D. 50-1900)*.

By P. K. Gode. It is the “art of decorating floors with coloured powders”—in India.

(d) *Modernism in Śamkara (Acharya of Kerala)*.

By Prof. Shrinivas Dikshit. Prof. G. E. Moore’s refutation of Idealism (1903), and Prof. T. H. Green’s argument for Transcendental Idealism are found in Śamkara’s *Sutra Bhashya* on II, 2, 28 (*nābhāva upalabdheḥ*), and II, 2, 19 of B.S. “Hence, like Kant, he is empirically a Realist, but transcendently, an Idealist”.

Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala Quarterly, Poona, Special Number, Indian Historical Congress Session 11, Delhi, 25-12-1948.

(a) *Prof. D. V. Potdar (Life Sketch, 1890 -----)*

(b) *Aswamedha Coins of Samudragupta* (Benares Hindu University Collection of 20 coins).

By Dr. A. S. Altekar.

(c) *Indian Nut-Cracker* (A.D. 1300-1800).

By P. K. Gode. Beteinut-Cutter is called in Marathi *adkittā*, from Kanarese *adake-gatti* (= betel-nut-knife), found used in 1369 A.D. in *Basavapurana* of Bhimakavi. Kanarese *adakottu* (from *adake* + *otu* = betel-nut-press, or cracker). (This may have originally been different from the nut-knife). In Bengali *yānu* (from Skt. yantra); in Central Provinces *Sarauta*; in Assam *carotā*. (The ta in these two words may be part of *yāta*, a Bengali form of yantra). *Adakeya* (of areca nuts) occurs in a Kanarese inscription of A.D. 750-70. (*Are-ca* = *ada-ke*, Tamil *adai-kāy* = leaf-nut; Tamil *vettilai* = hot, pungent leaf). (*adai*, *ilai* = leaf).

(d) The famous *Markanda Marathi inscription*—facsimile given.

(e) *The story of the Bombay Archives*.

By Dr. V. G. Dighe, Bombay. Over 98,000 volumes, and 250,000 files of records, mainly of the East India Co.

(f) *A Note on Tea* (Tha Assamese; and te, ca Chinese).

By Dr. S. N. Sen. Tea indigenous in Assam and used by the primitive tribes very early. When did tea first come from Assam, China, and Japan to India? Linschotten, long resident in Goa, "mentions tea only with reference to Japan."

(g) *Antiquities of Akola* (Ahmednagar).

By Y. R. Gupte. So called Siddheswara temple most important; warrior-stones too. All these "remains are of the period of the 10th to the 13th and the 14th centuries".

(h) *Signed paintings and maps and charts* belonging to the Mandala are described, with illustrations, including a page from the Parbhani copper-plates of Arikesarin III, Saka 888.

(i) *Gunadhya's Birthplace* (in Marathi).

By principal V. V. Mirashi. Traditionally it was Paithan, which may be a mistake for Supratistha, in Hingan ghat Dt. in C.P.

(j) *A Brief Account of the B.I.S. Mandala*, Poona, A.D. 1910-48—Historical Exhibition of paintings, coins, copper-plate inscriptions, MSS., sculptures, almanacs, etc. Excavation

begun at Karad yielded Satavahana coins, a Roman medal, very peculiar pottery (Roman vase ?), &c., proving "beyond doubt that there was a colony thriving there in the Satavahana period." Work temporarily stopped.

(k) Prof. D. V. Potdar's I. H. Congress *Presidential Address*, 1948.

"May we hope that ----- it will one day be possible for us to hold a session of the World Congress of History in India, or to organise a small conference of Asiatic scholars and representatives of the Indian History Congress ?"

Bombay University (Journal of the —), Nov. 1948, Vol. XVII (New Series), Part 3. Science No. 24. Transactions relating to important topics in Mathematics (1), and Chemistry (10); and articles (4) on Biological topics including medicine—all by Indian researchers.

India Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1948.

(a) *Partition of India* (Contributed).

(b) *Gandhiji's Ideas on Social Integration*, by Nirmal Kumar Bose.

(c) *Ceylon in Asian Culture*.

By C. W. W. Kannangara. From 3rd century B.C. cultural relations with India, Burma, Siam, China, Korea, Tibet and Persia and the Baghdad Caliphs. Dhanyakataka (= Amavarati) and Kanchi, both in South India are mentioned. (No cultural contact between Ceylon and Malabar?).

Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library (Bulletin of the—), Vol. I, No. 1, 1948.

(a) *Māyā-Vivarana* of Sri Samkaracharya, edited by Prof. T. Chandrasekharan (Nagari characters).

(b) *Sitasvayanvaram kilipāṭṭu*, edited by C. P. Gopinathan Nayar (Malayalam characters).

(c) *Mirat-i-Kashmir* (the earliest Persian poem on Kashmir), edited by S. M. Fazlullah Sahib Bahadur.

(Also works in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada).

Venkateswara Oriental Institute (Journal of Tirupati Sri —), Vol. IX, No. 1, Jan.-June, 1948.

(a) *Rgveda and the Purvottaramimamsa Methods of Interpretation.*

By D. T. Tatacharya, M.O.L.

(b) *Vaisesikikarasayana Sahitam Vaisesika Darsanam* of
Kaṇāda (in Nagari).

By T. Viraraghavachari (commentator).

(c) *Megha-Vidu-Dutu* (Tamil characters) with observations.

By T. P. Palaniappa Pillai, B.O.L.

(d) *Samūrtayajanamu* (Telugu, with notes and remarks in English).

By R. Parthasarathi Aiyangar (Vaikhanasa Pancaratra Sastri).

— T. K. Joseph.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P. O., Poona.
2. *Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society*, Nagpur.
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly*, Poona.
4. *Brahma Vidya*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
5. *Britain To-day*, London.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
8. *Commercial Review*, Alleppey.
9. *The Federated India*, Madras.
10. *Half Yearly Journal of Mysore University*, Mysore.
11. *The Hindustan Review*, Patna.
12. *The Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *India Digest*, Ahmedabad.
15. *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*,
Bombay.
18. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
19. *Journal of Sadul Rajasthan Research Institute*, Bikaner.
20. *Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
21. *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
22. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
23. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Benares.
24. *Perspective*, Delhi.
25. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
26. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*,
Rajamundry.
27. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
28. *University of Ceylon Review*, Colombo.
29. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Cocoanada.
30. *Quarterly Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy*,
Bangalore.

Ninth International Congress of Historical Sciences

The Ninth Congress of Historical Sciences will meet in Paris from the 27th of August to the 2nd of September, 1950. The French Committee of Historical Sciences has been invited to convene and organise the Meeting.

The Congress will include the following sections :—

- (a) Anthropology and Demography
- (b) History of Ideas
- (c) Economic History
- (d) Social History
- (e) History of Civilisations
- (f) Political History
- (g) History of Institutions.

Each of these sections will be divided into four sub-sections :

- (1) Prehistory and Antiquity
- (2) Medieval History
- (3) Modern History, to World War I
- (4) Contemporary History from World War I (included) to 1939.

In addition, a certain number of themes, a list of which will be published later, will be the subject of special "colloquia".

In each section, sub-section and theme reports will be printed and circulated in advance. Discussion of these reports will occupy the morning meetings of the Congress.

During the afternoon meetings papers of the usual type will be read and discussed. Writers of papers are asked to choose subjects of general interest, e.g. subjects suggesting comparisons, which will facilitate discussion.

On the last day but one, the rapporteurs will meet to attempt a general survey of the questions discussed at the Congress and to put forward a certain number of suggestions of a practical order (new fields of research, suggestions for team work, plans for publications). These suggestions will be put before the Congress at its last plenary meeting.

Organisation

(a) *Enrolment*—Scholars who wish to attend the Congress are requested to notify the Organizing Committee *as soon as possible and in any case before March 1st, 1950*. The enrolment fee is 1,000 French francs, to be paid in Paris. Students provided with a letter of recommendation from one of their professors will pay a half fee (500 frs).

(b) *Lodging*—The Organizing Committee will find lodging for all persons attending the Congress on the most reasonable terms possible in these difficult times. To help the Committee in this arduous task, scholars wishing to attend the meeting in 1950 are again urgently requested to notify the Committee of their intention as soon as possible.

(c) *Journey*—The Organizing Committee hope to obtain from the French Railways an appreciable reduction of fares for persons attending the Congress. It is hoped that National Committees will do all they can on their side to obtain facilities to enable scholars in their own countries to attend the Congress.

All enquiries and correspondence should be addressed to the—

COMITÉ FRANCAIS DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES.

96 Bd. Raspail, PARIS VIe.

Indian Merchant Ships and their Skippers in the Red Sea Ports, 1611*

BY

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India's maritime contact with the Red Sea was of long-standing antiquity. At the end of the 15th century the route from the Persian gulf to the Near East became unsafe on account of the Turkish seizure of it. The Red Sea route through Egypt was also liable to vexatious interference by the Egyptian government. Even in 1609 Englishmen found Aden to be "a place of garrison rather than of trade," and its Turkish governor to be "both rapacious and treacherous". The Basha¹ of the Yemen did not allow the English to establish a factory at Mocha in the Red Sea without sanction from Constantinople.² Mocha's³ importance as a commercial centre was not only due to the pilgrim traffic, and the influx of Egyptian merchants who purchased eastern products in return for gold and silver, but also to the fact that the Red Sea was the main outlet of the maritime activity of Gujurat traders of Diu and Cambay, and it was at the same time frequented largely by merchant and pilgrim ships from the Sind port of Lahari Bandar, the Mughal imperial port of Surat, the Bijapur (Konkan) port of Dabhol and the Malabar or Vijayanagar ports of Cannanore and Cochin.

The activities of the Indian ships, belonging to various Indian States commanding the sea coast, in the Indian waters, i.e., from the Cape of Good Hope and Madagascar to the East Indies and the Far East and their fate in the impact of the new conditions created by the advent, first of the Portuguese and subsequently of Dutch and the English traders have not been adequately studied by scho-

* Read at the Delhi session of Indian History Congress, 1948.

1. Jaffar Basha, Vizier and Viceroy of the Province.

2. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar* : Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, 189, 289; *Letters Received*, Vol. I. 129.

3. Also called Moho, Mocca. The English, however, advised their countrymen to 'shun the Red Sea' (1611) (as 'neither at Aden nor Moho nor any port under the Turkish tyranny in the Red Sea, there is not any trade for you') and to prefer the Assab road in the bay of Morgabra (Abyssinian coast), S. W. of Mocha. L. R. I. 129-31.

lars,⁴ who have dealt with the period from the point of view of the European nations' quest of the Eastern trade. In this paper an attempt has been made to study, on the basis of the English E. I. Company's records, the activities of the Indian skippers and the fate of the Indian ships in the Red Sea Ports during 1611.

In the course of the 6th voyage of the E. I. Company to the East, Sir Henry Middleton, the 'General', aboard the *Trades Increase*, was attacked at Mocha with some of his followers after an initial welcome, and imprisoned for nearly 6 months (Dec. 1610–May 10, 1611) by its Governor, Regib Aga (Rajab Agha) and sent to the Basha at Sana.⁵ On 10th May, 1611, Middleton escaped with some others of his party and reached the *Darling*. But Middleton had to leave behind "30 men of best quality" as pledges of good behaviour till the arrival of the Indian ships, which would be secure from any wrong inflicted by the English.⁶

The first reaction of the other members of Middleton's party was to avenge the Turks by attempting to dislocate their trade in the Red Sea. Captain Nicholas Downton (in charge of the *Peppercorn*) and his colleagues, wanted to make a show of force by preventing at Bab el Mandeb the Indian ships from reaching the Red Sea in the beginning of 1611. This course was decided upon after careful consideration of probable gains and losses and of possible reactions to Englishmen elsewhere. Captain Nicholas Downton, Giles Thornton and Hugh Frayne wrote to Middleton (30. 1. 11) that "the show thereof might turn you to good, since the damage they might receive that way by us might divers times double the hope or gain they may receive by all your captivities." Evidently the Turks were then deriving considerable profit from the trade carried on by the Indian ships. Though the English, advised by Sir Henry, did not actually resort to the blockade, they held (30th Jan., 1611) that "the safe passage in of the Indian ships" would conduce to the "especiall good of the Turks who might work us very much mischief."⁷

Regib Aga (Rajab Agha),^{7a} the Governor of Mocha, did not want the English to come to Mocha road, on the ground that the

4. F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, 2 vols. (1894); Macpherson; Bruce, *Annals of Commerce*; Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, &c.

5. *Letters Received* Vol. I. 1602-13 Intro.; 129-30 (details). The Great Turk had ordered that the Basha might give license to Christians to come there but must capture their ships, kill the crew and confiscate their goods, because the place was so near Mecca. *Ibid.* 129.

6. *Ibid.* 130, 131.

7. L. R. I. 53.

7a. Formerly Governor of Aden about 1609.

ships of India dare (d) not come where the English were staying.⁸ The English also apprehended (9th March, 1611) that the arrival of the Indian ships, together with the ships and galleys from Mecca were expected to strengthen the hands of the Turkish Governor who would then be emboldened to use Sir Henry Middleton "at his pleasure and like a Judas to embrace you with a kiss and for the lucre of money to betray you again."⁹

Not only were the Indian ships considered by the English to bring vast wealth and resources to the Turkish authorities, we find the Nakhudas or Skippers or masters of Indian vessels playing the role of mediators or intermediaries between the Turkish officers and the Englishmen. Again it was through these Nakhudas that an active correspondence passed between Middleton, the General of the Sixth Voyage of E. I. C. and the other Englishmen during and after the period of his detention on shore.

The escape of Sir Henry Middleton caused a flutter in the minds of the Governor of Mocha and of the Indian merchants of Dabhol and Malabar, then at the port. They all apprehended some acts of reprisal from the English 'General'. The Turkish Governor was in a curious fix, pursuing a policy of force without sufficient naval strength, while the Indian skippers and merchants dreaded the naval might of the English. A policy of appeasement and of gaining time was the inevitable result of the situation. Two Indian Skippers (*Nahudas or Nakhudas*) of 'the Dabulls' and of 'the Malabars' interceded with the Governor of Mocha on behalf of some imprisoned English subordinates of Middleton including Lawrence, Femell and John Williams, and secured his ruling that none of these Englishmen would be "put into irons" or "otherwise wronged" and that they would only be confined to the house till the formal permission for their release came from the Basha within a fortnight (from 11th May, 1611).¹⁰ The Malabar Nakhuda even conveyed a letter of the imprisoned Lawrence Femell to Sir Henry Middleton (13th May), and persuaded the latter "to hold good quarter with the Turks", i.e. not to resort to any act of revenge, for the above period. The Nakhuda also promised to fulfil certain conditions suggested by Middleton regarding restoration of captured articles of the English and was rewarded by the latter with "a good sword blade in part of recompense."¹¹

8. L.R.I. 55. The English, however, hoped to get information of their men and business at Surat' only from Indian ships.

9. L.R.I. 58-9.

10. L.R.I. 89-90.

11. *Ibid.*, 92.

At the same time presents and provisions poured into the hands of Femell, so that the latter might persuade Middleton (through correspondence) to remain quiet. From the crew of the Dabhol ship came much needed provisions,¹² while the Malabar Nakhuda sent some gold coins with a corse of fidkeaes.¹³ The Governor of Mocha and the Nakhudas of Dabhol and of Malabar, all agreed to write (on 14th May) to the Basha, pleading for the release of the English prisoners, then guarded in their own house by a dozen soldiers, and sent them comfortable messages, assuring them freedom after the receipt of the reply from the Basha. Femell requested Middleton to send him some fresh wine, and 30 rials of eight through a trustworthy messenger "aboard the great Dabull's ships" and entreated him 'to grant the request of the Agha'.¹⁴ Thus the Indian ships rendered considerable service to the Englishmen in several ways.

In Mocha there was an Indian town. The Indians built for themselves "a petty town of slight cabins, along the strand."¹⁵ Some of the Nakhudas had their own houses at Mocha, which were occasionally the venue of meetings and discussions between them, high Turkish officials and others. Such was Malik Ambar, who used to style himself 'Nakhuda of the great ship,' captain of Dabul, the port of Bijapur. He was 30 years old and should be distinguished from the Abyssinian Prime Minister of Ahmadnagar of the same name. This great ship of Dabul was christened the *Muhammad-i*, and was capable of carrying 4,000 *Khandies*¹⁶ of goods. On 13th May night, an important meeting was held at his house to discuss the terms mentioned in Middleton's letter. It was presented by Lawrence Femell before the Nahuda and the Emir Dakar. It was settled that the Nahuda and Shermale, the Shahbunder of Mocha, would work out the conditions of Middleton's capitulation with the Agha, Governor of Mocha.¹⁷

Besides the Skipper of the ship of Dabhol in Bijapur, there was another influential skipper of Vijayanagar (Malabar) at Mocha, referred to in the E. I. Company's records as "the old Nahuda Mahomet of Cainnor" (Cannanore). He had rendered the party

12. Viz. two sheep, one large basket of rice, another of bread, with a pan of butter and some green ginger.

13. A bale of 20 pieces of a variety of cotton cloth.

14. L. R. I. 93-94.

15. L. R. I. 182.

16. A South Indian weight, generally equal to 20 maunds.

17. L. R. I. 95. For details of Malik Ambar and his ship, vide Portuguese records in JBRS XXXIII, 32.

of Femell considerable services at the time of Middleton's escape and interceded on behalf of the English with the Basha. So Femell besought Middleton to use the Malabar Skipper, deputed to settle conditions of capitulation, "with all tenderness" and to arrange with him to get back the anchors in five days, so that the presence of two more English vessels in the Mocha road would inspire the local authorities and the Indians with greater awe of the English than before.¹⁸ Rajab Agha, the Governor of Mocha promised to Middleton (15th May) to agree to the terms suggested by Nakhuda Mahomet, as he was the accredited spokesman of the Turkish authorities.¹⁹

In spite of the friction between the English and the Turkish authorities the relations between the English and the Indian ships were, on the whole, outwardly at least, cordial. Thus Middleton asked (15th May) Femell to recommend him to Nakhuda Mahomed and Nakhuda Malik Ambar, thank the latter for the presents brought by his Kaihos, and request the Governor of Mocha to grant the Indian merchants and masters, complete freedom to come to Middleton's ships.²⁰ Indeed, it was from these Indians that the English could expect information of the progress which their predecessors, like William Hawkins, Jourdain and Sharpeigh, were making with regard to development of trade in the main land of India, particularly at Surat and Cambay.²¹

On the other hand, Malik Ambar, the captain of Dabhol, in his turn, showed a friendly disposition to the English, by supplying them daily rations, albeit without meat. In partial recompense, Middleton sent a good sword blade for Malik Ambar and another for his Kaiho, and still considered himself to be indebted to the Bijapuri captain.²² Subsequently Malik Amber, too, thanked Middleton for the presents and avowed his readiness to requite his courtesy on any later occasion, if demanded. What had been sent by him to Middleton and the Englishmen ashore was, Malik Ambar

18. *Ibid.*, 95-6, 96-7.

19. 'And look what the Nahuda Mahomet (for he is the man that must deal for us) doth say, I will consent unto.' *Ibid* 99-100. The Nahuda, along with the governor and the Shahbunder wrote to the Basha to restore the *Pinnace* captured by the Turks for the grand Seignor or Vizier, to Middleton. *Ibid.*

20. "My friends, the Nahuda and other my friends of India." *I bid.*, 101.

21. Details in L. R. I. 116-118, 120, 123.

22. Femell and Williams gratefully acknowledged the gift to Middleton (18th May, 1611); "Every day we receive kindness from Meleck Ambar Nahuda of the great ship, in the quality that they ordinarily feedeth upon, we mean rice, but no flesh therewith." L. R. I. 108, 109.

professed, "not with expectation of recompense," but in token of his goodwill and love towards them. Malik Ambar also expressed the hope that the Basha's order of release of Englishmen would come in eight days' time. He volunteered to carry any letter which Middleton might send "to any part of India." He also invited Middleton to Dabhol, assuring him that his "entertainment would be very friendly and embracement of trade gratefully accepted."²³ The true reason of this offer of the Bijapuri captain is not probably disclosed in the E. I. Company's records. It is true Malik Ambar is said to have only expected "a safe passage" for himself in the hands of the Englishmen on his way back." Was this dallying of the Bijapuri Captain with the English intended to offset the Portuguese-Vijayanagar alliance and thereby reduce the political importance of the Portuguese in the West Coast of India and to win over the English to stand by the side of Bijapur, if need be, especially because of the apprehension that the friction²⁴ between the Portuguese and the Nizam Shahi's of Ahmadnagar might spread to Bijapur as well?

But this friendly attitude of the English towards the Indian ships was more apparent than real. In the first place, it did not stand in the way of Sir Henry's holding a threat to burn the Indian ships, when he was dissatisfied with the negative reply of the Governor of Mocha on the question of the release of the Englishmen. Reprisal, followed by a dislocation of the trade of Mocha was, to the English, the only means of bringing the Turks on their knees. On 16th May, Middleton wrote, "I will not forbear to burn the India ships which are my friends, rather than I will lose the benefit of revenge upon so vile a traitor." He even withdrew his request, previously made, of allowing "the Nahudas and other my friends" to come aboard his own ships, so as not to remain under any sense of obligation to the Governor.²⁵ Middleton, however, refrained from reprisals "at the entreaty of the Shahbunder and Nakhuda Mohomet". Indeed, the issue seemed to depend wholly on "the promise and determination of the Nahuda."²⁶ The Governor, gave out that any breach of peace by Middleton, involving

23. *Ibid.*, 113, very likely it was in pursuance of this invitation that in 1612, Sir Henry Middleton's ships touch at Dabhol. He was requested to initiate a regular trade. But in spite of occasional discussions of the advisability of opening a factory, nothing took place, "as the perennial warfare with the Portuguese rendered ventures in that direction unsafe for any but a strong fleet." Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, 317-318.

24. Danvers, II. 149-51

25. L. R. I. 102-103.

26. L. R. I. 104.

the burning of the Indian ships, would be immaterial to his government, as it would only injure "the friends" .. But this was evidently a bluff, as future events showed. Further, the delay in the arrival of ships from the Gujarat port, Diu, caused a steep rise in the price of articles from India at Mocha. The Aga also wanted to keep the question of access of the Indian Nakhudas to Middleton to be undecided, depending on Middleton's own conduct. As a matter of fact the Shahbunder and Nakhuda Mahomet and even Lawrence Femell himself desired Middleton to wait patiently till the expiry of the limited period.²⁷

Secondly, Femell objected to Middleton's advice to borrow some money from Nakhuda Mahomet, considering it to be "a discredit to borrow money of" Indians and resolved to keep himself out of debt in any eventuality.²⁸

Thirdly, Sir Henry Middleton seized, on 18th May, 1611, the ship of Diu, together with its crew and goods, and some other ships from Malabar and Dabhol, as a security for the release of the imprisoned Englishmen. He was resolved to so tighten the blockade as not to allow any unloading of ships and to permit a single person to go ashore, even if starvation stared the crew in the face on the sea. Thus "the Malabar master and owner of the small ship that rideth next the shore" were not permitted to haul their ships ashore, though the Dabull ship was permitted to ballast. But he promised not to inflict any injury on either the ship or the crew. He would also not allow any Englishman to enter the ship. His sole objective was to bring her under complete command of his own ship for purposes of effective blockade.²⁹

This blockade of the Indian ships seemed to cause a serious dislocation of the trade interests of the port. Rajab Agha, the Governor of Mocha, had to swallow his previous bluff, and to relent at this pressure. On 19th May he requested Middleton to permit the unloading of the ships and especially of a ship of Diu, 'appertaining' to the business of Shermale, the Shahbunder, that was expected to arrive from the Babel Mandab to Mocha on the 20th. In case of noncompliance, the Governor would inform the Basha.³⁰ But Middleton steadily refused to permit unloading of any goods till the release of the Englishmen and retained the Diu ship in his own keeping. The Shahbunder, anxious to know his own business

27. *Ibid.*, 105-107.

28. *Ibid.*, 105-107.

29. L. R. I. 110, 111.

30. *Ibid.*, 112-113

affairs, implored Middleton (20th May, 1611) to allow at least "some of my people come ashore, and offered him 10 Moraes of rice as a sign of goodwill.³¹ He was especially anxious to contact a Gujarati youth and Femell forwarded his request to Middleton, a request that was repeated by the Aga also. But Middleton would not release him till the release of the Englishmen.³² These details show that the Turks were utterly weak in naval power and that the Indian ships had no convoy or military protection against hostile attack on the sea.

Fourthly, Nakhuda Mahomet lost the confidence of the English. About 20th May, the Turkish authorities imprisoned and enchain'd Femell and his party. The latter at first believed that this was due to the alarm raised by Nakhuda Mohomet that Sir Henry Middleton would not only demand the release of Femell and his men but also the restitution of all goods. But Sir Henry denied to have said so and assured Femell (21 May) that he was not "so indiscreet to reveal my designs to any Indian whatsoever." Subsequently, after his chains were removed, Femell learnt that the Shahbunder did not want him to disclose to Middleton the fact of the enchain'd and attributed it to the news of approach, during night, of a boat, evidently suspected by the townsmen to be a reprisal boat of Middleton. Femell, therefore, suspected the Nakhuda to be a double-dealer, who was responsible for his own imprisonment. Later still (22 May) Femell could not decide whether the Nakhuda or the Shahbunder was more honest, and began to suspect the Shahbunder also. The Shahbunder had arranged the detention of the Englishmen till the arrival of the Indian ships, and when Middleton seized the ship of Diu, connected with the Shahbunder, the latter, who was at the Aga's house, was reported to have given "Money to have it (enchain'd) done." Femell was therefore at a loss to understand which of the three causes, alleged to be responsible for the enchain'd of the English, was "the efficient cause" i.e., true cause. But he was definite that Malik Ambar "did speak most earnestly and boldly in our cause."³³ Evidently there was some intrigue between

31. *Ibid.*, 114, 116. Middleton's letter, a reply to Regib Aga's letter of 19th is dated 18th May, 1611. This is evidently a mistake. A *mora* was a measure used in sale of paddy on the West Coast of India.

32. *Ibid.*, 120, 121, 122. From Femell's letter of 23rd May, 1611, it appears that the father of the Guj. youth, 'an old decrepil man' came to him enquiring about his son's release. *Ibid.*, 122.

33. L. R. I. 116-117, 117-118, 119-20. It is clear that the Turkish prison restrictions did not prevent correspondence between the prisoners and their outside friends.

the Shahbunder and Nakhuda Mahomet. Middleton swore vengeance on the *Nakhudas* whom he suspected to neglect him, stating (21 May), "I hope to requite them and make them know their errors too late, for I find no man to stir in my business but the Shahbunder and all the rest sit still."³⁴

Middleton was also sceptical of Malik Ambar's attitude. To Lawrence Femell's assurance that Malik Ambar had spoken "most earnestly and boldly in favour of the imprisoned Englishmen, Middleton replied (22 May, 1611) : 'If Meleck Ambar be kind to you now, it is more for fear than love, for I, when I was ashore, could receive none at his hands.'³⁵

At the same time there was a growing realisation on the part of the Englishmen of the 6th Voyage, then at Mocha, that if they were to prosecute their trade successfully, they must, in view of the uncertainty of establishing trade in the west coast of India. "make friends at other places." The Portuguese maritime supremacy and the danger of rivalry with them was a factor that must be reckoned with. "If the Portingals seek to work us out we must endeavour to keep ourselves in ; the beginning is the worst," wrote Femell to Middleton (22 May). Moreover, from information trickling from the Indian merchants and skippers, they came to know of the difficulties of establishing trade at Cambay and Surat³⁶ on account of the vacillating policy of Jahangir and the caprices of his Governors.³⁷ Further, the commodities which the English had brought for India would not be suitable for or vendible in "any other place but the coast of Mallabar". But direct trade relation with the Vijayanagar Empire in the Malabar coast would be impossible on account of the treaty of 1547 between that Empire and the Portuguese. Hense the only hope for the English lay in taking "perfect intelligence of the entrance of Dabull", the port of Bijapur, so that they might establish overland trade with Vijayanagar through Bijapur. This necessitated that the "Dabull men" must be completely won over. Hence Lawrence Femell and John Williams requested Sir Henry Middleton (22 May, 1611) to send a compass for the "Malum of the great Dabull's ship;" in case Middleton was

34. L. R. I. 117. Middleton regarded both Nakhuda Mahomet and the Shahbunder to be alike, refuting Femell's allegation that he condemned the former and excused the latter, but held that it would not be proper to indict the Shahbunder, who "was never but kind to us", without substantial proof. *Ibid.*, 121.

35. *Ibid.*, 120, 121.

36. *Ibid.*, 116-118, 120. (Femell's letter, 123, 157.

37. L. R. I. 157, 158, 159, 160.

unwilling to "bestow a compass upon him" i.e. as a gift, Femell requested his superior to "sell us a compass which in the end shall not be lost."³⁸ Middleton demurred, saying that he had not brought any compass for sale but finally sent one in the hope of eventual advantage, adding : "The last news of Surat hath afforded you a reason why you should give it, for before you wrote me none."³⁹

The Indian Nakhudas also played an important part in the final release of the Englishmen, imprisoned by the Turkish authorities at Mocha. The Basha at Sana sent letters to the Governor, to Nakhuda Mahomet, to the Shahbunder and the merchants for the release. It was settled that Nakhuda Mahomet should go to Middleton on 25th May and take from him and his crew a signed guarantee ("a writing under your hand and seal") to the effect that they would not do "harm to any ships whatsoever in this Sea." Then the Shahbunder and the Nakhuda would "become pledges", i.e. stand as surety for the English. The Nakhuda of the ship of Dabhol (i.e. Malik Ambar) had the courage to denounce the conduct of the Turkish authorities and incurred the Governor's displeasure. Middleton was informed that "the Governor and Nahuda of the Dabull are at difference, the Nahuda telling him plainly of his injurious dealing towards us." The Governor refused to permit Malik Ambar "to send a boat aboard to see what his ships" wanted. So Femell requested Middleton to lend a boat for the purpose, in order to gratify Malik Ambar.⁴⁰

Nakhuda Mahomet promised to Middleton that the entire party of the imprisoned Englishmen with all their belongings, and the pinnace with all its articles would be restored to Middleton on 26th May, besides articles of personal use "save the main bulk of our goods". If the Aga would not restore as many goods as demanded by the English, the Nakhuda himself would.⁴¹ On 26th May, Middleton sent a written note to Rajab Agha, through Femell, that if all the "Englishmen, the pinnace, and all ships and men were restored, he would bind himself "not to meddle with any ships" in the Red Sea.⁴²

38. L. R. I. 119-20. I am indebted to Dr. Moraes for giving me the interesting information that the compasses of the Europeans were superior to those used by the Arabs and others in the Indian waters.

39. *Ibid.*, 121. The Malum, approached by Femell, promised to furnish Middleton with a good loadstone in return for his money, *Ibid.*, 124.

40. L. R. I. 124-5.

41. *Ibid.*, 125-6.

42. *Ibid.*, 128.

A cipher correspondence⁴³ on Middleton's letter of 25th May contains the following with regard to Indian ships. I have given a tentative clue within brackets where possible :

This day being 28th May is 226th day. The ships of Dabull (Dabhol) 305 or 300 (expected to leave Mocha on 15th or 10th August).

Mallebarrs (Malabar) 295 or 300 (expected to leave on 5th or 10th August).

Ships of Dewe (Diu), 305 (expected to leave on 15th August).

To go 310 (leave Mocha by 20th August) is very late and doubtful to attain the coast of India, the best time is 300 (10th August) to attain the coast of India. After 270 days (11th July) begin the buying and selling. The coast of India 330 or 332. (The English hoped to reach it by 9th or 11th September).⁴⁴

The Storm of Ofante⁴⁵ doth begin and endureth 2 or 3 days.

The ships of Dew (Diu) 130 or 135 each from Sinda (Indus R.) or 70, 80, 90 (? not clear).

43. L. R. I. 125-6.

44. Middleton, in his settlement talks with Nakhuda Mahomet had informed him that he would depart within 48 hours of completing his necessary purchases of provisions for his ships. As a matter of fact, Middleton's fleet left Mocha on August 9, (i.e. one day earlier) and anchored in the road south of the bar of Surat on Sept. 26, (i.e. about a fortnight behind schedule). L. R. I. 125, xxxiii.

45. Ofante or Elephant, a term used by the Portuguese to indicate violent storms at the end or according to some, beginning of the monsoon.

The Development of Judiciary and its Conflict with the Executive in Bengal between 1774-1803

BY

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CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH COURTS IN INDIA BEFORE 1770

The Charters obtained by the East India Company from Queen Elizabeth and King James I (viz., those of 1600, 1609, 1611, 1622) gave the Company no privileges except the right of exclusive trade with the East Indies, which was, however, an exceptional privilege in the light of the political economy of the times ; (for instance,) Section 9 of the Act against Monopolies (21 James I C. 3) which expressly provided that any company or society of merchants which had been erected for the maintenance, enlarging or ordering of any trade of merchandise should retain all legal privileges. The next important Charter was that of Cromwell of 1657. It was followed by that of Charles II of 1661 (13 Charles II) which gave the Company "power and command" over their fortresses and to appoint Governors and other officers for their Government.¹ "The Governor and Council of each Factory were empowered to judge all persons belonging to the said Governor and Company or that shall live under them, in all causes whether civil or criminal, according to the Laws of this Kingdom and to execute Judgment accordingly." The Chief Factor and Council of any place for which there was no Governor, were empowered to send offenders for punishment either to a place where there was a Governor and Council or to England. The Company were also empowered to send ships of war to their factories, to choose commanders and officers and give them power, by commissions under their common seal, to seize unlicensed persons and send them to England, to punish persons in their employment and to make peace or war with any non-Christian Prince or people.²

1. Shaw : Charters of the East India Company, 1887, Madras, p. 44.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Before the issue of this Charter the Company's Agents and Councils in their Indian Settlements possessed no authority of any judicial character over the inhabitants, "but such as was derived from the native suzerain." Offences by British subjects were dealt with by the Agent and Council. Thus, when the case of the murder of an Indian slave girl at Madras by her European mistress was referred by the Agent and Council to the Directors, the latter resolved that, under the authority given by the Charter of 1661, the Agent at Fort St. George should be created Governor with power to try this and similar cases under the Charter. This despatch reached Madras when Governor Foxcroft had been superseded by Sir Edward Winter (Sep. 1665-Aug. 1668). Foxcroft thus became the first Agent to be created Governor of Fort St. George. The Governor also claimed the control of the Indian population of the presidency against the Muhammadan ruler of the neighbourhood, because if he should accept a Havildar or Indian Governor for the town of Madras, that acceptance would be "an infraction of his authorised privileges."³

In earlier times, disputes between Indians and the Factors of a Settlement were adjudicated in the tribunals of the native powers. Captain Best's treaty with the Mughal Governor of Ahmadabad confirmed by the Governor of Gujarat (October 21, 1612) provided that "in all the questions, wrongs and injuries that shall be offered to us and to our nation we do receive from the Judges and those that be in authority speedy justice, according to the quality of our complaints and wrongs done us, and that by delays we be not put off or wearied by time and charge." A King's commission under the Great Seal, empowered the Commissioners to punish and execute English offenders by martial law. In civil cases, the President or Chief of the Factory had absolute powers.

In Madras there had long been in existence a 'Choultry Court' where justice was administered to Indian inhabitants by either Indians or Europeans appointed by the Governor.

In 1684 an Admiralty Court was created by a Royal Charter of 1683 at Madras presided over by a Judge Advocate. This Charter of 1683 gave the Company full power to declare war and make peace with heathen nations, and to exercise martial law in their jurisdiction. The same Charter established a Court of Judicature presided over by a civil judge and two assistants, with power to hear and determine all cases of forfeiture of ships or goods, trading con-

3. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLVIII for 1929, p. 212.

trary to the Charter and also all mercantile and marine cases, according to the Laws and Customs of the Merchants. A Judge-Advocate was appointed at both Surat and Madras and was later empowered to preside over the quarter sessions. Usually the Governor presided at the trial of pirates, and occasionally the Judge Advocate presided over the trials.⁴

According to the Company's Charter issued under their own seal, under the authority of the Royal Charters of 1661 and 1683 (of Charles II and of 1686 of James II) a Municipality and a Mayor's Court were established at Madras in September 1687.

The Municipality and the Mayor's Court were created by the Company's Charter, because, as the Governor of the Company observed, "the wind of the extraordinary humour in their heads would probably render them so haughty and over-bearing that the Company would be forced to remove them." The Company evidently had in mind the recent differences that had occurred between Sir John Child, the Governor of Bombay, and Dr. St. John, who had been appointed Judge of the Court at Surat by Royal Commission from the Company ; and it was alive to the dangers arising from an independent judiciary which in the next century were to bring about the conflicts between Warren Hastings and the Calcutta Supreme Court.⁵

The Mayor's Court was to have a Recorder, and the Judge Advocate was appointed to be the first Recorder; and there was a right of appeal from the Mayor's Court to the Court of Admiralty (Supreme Court of Judicature)⁶

The establishment of the Mayor's Court in Madras soon after that of the Admiralty Court calls for some explanation.⁷

The Court of Admiralty continued to function at Madras down to 1704 when, on the return of the Judge Advocate to England, it was decided that his office was to remain vacant.⁸ Admiralty jurisdiction came to be exercised since then by the Governor and Council under Royal Commission issued in conformity with the Piracy Act of 1698 (2nd William III, Sec. 7).

The Governor and Council at Madras had also constituted themselves as a Court of Appeal from both the Admiralty and the Mayor's Courts. This was presumably due to the instructions of

4. H. D. Love : *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, p. 494.

5. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLVIII. p. 213.

6. Shaw, p. 89.

7. Fawcett : The First Century of British Justice in India, 1934, pp. 203-206.

8. Love : Vol. III, p. 30.

the Company to Thomas Pitt, Governor of Madras (1698-1709) that the President and Council should hear appeals in all cases of value of over 100 pagodas.⁹

In Bengal there existed no regular Court of Admiralty for the English Company down to 1728. A Commission was indeed given to the Admiral of the first expedition to the Bay, followed by two subsequent commissions in 1688 and 1693 ; but there is no evidence that a Court of Admiralty regularly sat at all. In fact the conditions in Bengal were not favourable for any such court functioning ; and the Council of Calcutta was instructed to send all prisoners to Madras for trial, if necessary.¹⁰

It so happened that during the time of Governor Yale (1687-1692) the Mayor's Court at Madras declared that their own decisions were final. The Mayor and some of the Aldermen were members of the Council and they bitterly quarrelled with the Governor over the matter.¹¹ In 1692 the Supreme Court of Judicature was revived, as the Company sent out a new Judge Advocate. Later, he was removed from office and the Company decided that the post of Judge-Advocate should be filled by Members of the Council in rotation. The Supreme Court inflicted sentences of death, whipping, pillory, etc.

The instructions to Sir Charles Eyre the first Governor and President of Fort William, did not contain any direction to improve the courts of justice, such as had been given to the Governor of Madras in the previous year, i.e., 1698. In fact, the Company did not establish any regular Court of Justice at Calcutta, apart from the jurisdiction exercised by the Governor and Council, down to 1728 when the Mayor's Court was set up. The President of Fort William had always to resort to a Committee of three members of the Council for the decision of small controversies,¹² but its working was fitful and not continuous.

The famous Charter of George I of 1726 established (rather reconstituted) the Municipalities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and set up and remodelled the Mayor's and other Courts in each of the three Presidencies. The Mayor and Aldermen at each Presidency were to constitute a Mayor's Court with civil jurisdiction, which was, however, subject to an appeal to the President and

9. Instructions to Governor Pitt dated 5th January, 1698, *vide* Willam Hedges' Diary, edited by Sir Henry Yale, Vol. III, pp. 34-35 and also Life of Thomas Pitt by C. N. Dalton, p. 105.

10. Wilson : Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. I, p. 141.

11. Love : Vol. I, p. 502.

12. Wilson : Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. I, p. 197.

Council and a second appeal, in more important cases, to the King in Council.¹³ The Mayor's Court was also granted power of probate as well as the power to exercise testamentary jurisdiction. The Governor and five Senior Members of the Council were to be Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, with "such powers, jurisdictions and authorities and under such regulations and restrictions as were in force in Madraspatam and were to hold Quarter Sessions four times in the year, with jurisdiction over all offences except high treason." At the same time, the Company were authorized, as in previous charters, to "appoint generals and other military officers with power to exercise the *inhabitants in arms*, to repel force by force and to exercise martial law in times of war."¹⁴ The President and Council were also to constitute a Court of Appeal from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court, while a Court of Requests or a Court of Conscience was instituted for the decision, by summary procedure, of pecuniary disputes of small amounts.

The Charter of 1726 organised the Municipalities and Mayor's Courts according to the wishes of the Directors as intimated in their letter to Bengal of the 17th February 1726, "with a view to the management of civil affairs as near as could be agreeable to the practice and methods of Mayor's Court at Fort St. George." With this despatch were transmitted "various books and instructions for the proceedings of the new court in all actions and suits, as well civil as criminal, and in proving of Wills and granting of Letters of Administration of Intestates' Estates together with the forms of the several oaths directed by the Charter to be taken, which books were compiled with great care and with the advice and assistance of the ablest lawyers in the several branches of business therein treated of."¹⁵ No copies of these books can be found in the India Office, though duplicates appear to have been sent out, on the 24th January 1753 : and there is reason to believe that in one of them the doctrine was first laid down that by the Charter of 1726 all the Common and Statute Laws at that time extant in England, were introduced into the Indian Presidencies and all parliamentary enactments passed since that period excluded, unless expressly extended to India. This doctrine has long been applied ; in the celebrated trial of Nand Kumar all the Judges appear to have considered it clear that the dividing line was drawn by the Charter

13. Shaw : p. 230 et seq.

14. C. P. Ilbert : Government of India. 3rd Edition, p. 32 ; and Shaw : p. 245.

15. Charters relating to the East India Company from 1600 to 1761 by John Shaw, Madras, 1887, Introduction, pp. XVI and XVII.

of 1753, the only doubt expressed being whether the condition and circumstances of the place and the persons admitted of the law being administered as in England.

Prof. D. N. Banerji says¹⁶ that the Mayor's Courts established by the Charter of 1726 were not vested with any criminal jurisdiction at all, their jurisdiction was confined to civil suits, actions and pleas, while it clearly provided for entirely separate Courts of Justice for the trial of all criminal offenders except high treason committed within the Presidency Settlements, within the Factories subordinate thereto and within ten miles of any of the same respectively. The Charter definitely says that, in compliance with the wishes of the Directors, as intimated in their letter to Bengal of 17th February 1726, the Mayor's Courts were to conduct the management of civil affairs "as near as could be agreeable to the practice and methods of the Mayor's Court at Fort St. George."

The Mayor's Court was to be a Court of Record ; and the President and Council were constituted an Appellate Court from it ; they were also commissioned Justices of the Peace and a Court of Oyer, Terminer and Gaol Delivery.

A full account of the working of the Mayor's Courts will naturally and readily show that it resulted in a distinct progress in the administration of justice according to the principles and practice of English courts. Each Mayor's Court was at pains to assert itself and to maintain its independence of the Governor and Council. The Mayor and Aldermen were generally members of the Grand Jury at Quarter Sessions ; and they sometimes made presentments that were inconvenient to the Council and also objected to the method of procedure adopted.¹⁷

In 1733 the Directors expressed their disapproval¹⁸ of "that affected independency which, we are informed, has crept in among all the young Aldermen and Attorneys in the Mayor's Court." Again, in 1746, we find that the Directors commented on the Bengal Council on their exposing themselves to a sort of insult from the Mayor's Court. Copies of registers of the proceedings of these courts were regularly sent annually to the Directors and were subjected to a close scrutiny by the Counsel for the Company. This scrutiny was sometimes very elaborate, particularly in the first three years as reflected in the Despatches of the Company of the years

16. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XVIII, 1942, p. 76 et seq.

17. Fawcett, p. 223.

18. Despatch to Bengal of 6th Feb. 1733.

1729-31. The remarks were intended to impress on the Courts the fundamental principles of English laws that ensured fair trial and gave other useful instructions by way of advice and opinion. The scrutiny of the Proceedings of the Courts was left to the Company's Standing Counsel and Attorney. This supervision of the Company over the Mayor's Courts was, on the whole, beneficial, though it approximated the procedure to the English model and tended to cause much delay in the disposal of cases.

There was always a great deal of indefiniteness as to the limits of the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court. Within the immediate limits of the Presidency and the subordinate factories, Indians were subject to English laws in all criminal matters. It was a long-standing practice, both in Madras and Calcutta, in cases where Indians were accused and were on trial for life, to empanel a jury, composed of half Englishmen, and half Indians.

The Grand Jury at the Quarter Sessions imitated their English analogue and made presentation of matters which they thought needed amendment or improvement, like the condition of the town gaol, the fixing of prices, wages, etc. They often claimed that these and other presentments of theirs should be read out and answered in open court. There are instances of the Grand Jury refusing to examine bills of indictment when the Justices refused to answer their presentments.

As in England, all indictments were referred in the first instance to the Grand Jury, and only those on which that Jury found a true bill, were tried by the Justices before a Petty Jury.

When a prisoner refused to plead, the trial could not legally go on and the Justices pronounced as in England the dreadful formula of the *peine forte et dure*.¹⁹

Juries assessed the value of stolen property at a very low figure in order to bring that category of crime outside the scope of felony and they might consequently inflict a milder sentence than death.

A person found guilty of man-slaughter was allowed to plead the Benefit of Clergy, so that his property might not be confiscated to the Crown. Branding was often done with cold iron. Hanging was done by means of chains, near the scene of the crime. Sometimes transportation was ordered to Sumatra. Thieves were whipped at the cart's tail.²⁰

19. H. Dodwell: The Nabobs of Madras, pp. 150-51.

20. Account of criminal procedure detailed in Madras Records Sundry Book Public 8.

One point which should be noted here and which is greatly significant of a particular aspect of the troubles that arose in Hastings' time was the fact that the Company insisted upon English Law being applied in the Courts, because it held that the Charter was "principally designed for the government and benefit of Europeans"; but the continued recognition of the peculiar customs of the natives was also encouraged. And the Charter of 1753, as will be presently seen, expressly excepted from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court all suits and actions between the Natives only which should be determined among themselves, unless both parties submitted to the determination of the Mayor's Court.

Fawcett has remarked that "the courts on the whole were greatly beneficial to the Natives and taken advantage of by them."²¹ The registers show, however, that Indians continued to resort to those courts to much the same extent as before. This consent to submit to their jurisdiction gives a clear indication that it was favourably regarded by the native inhabitants of the settlements. "Indian litigation in fact contributed the bulk of the court work from their start; and in 1731, the Company expressed surprise that the number of suits at Madras "should rival those of one of the principal courts at Westminster Hall."²² In the face of this evidence, the view that justice suffered because the Mayor's Court knew nothing and could know nothing of jurisprudence is not sustainable. Most of the litigation was of a simple character, such as claims for debts, and was dealt with in a prompt and satisfactory manner. "The Benches had no professional lawyer among them, they judged the causes before them with apparent fairness and in a sensible manner that was none the worse for its avoidance of legal technicalities."²³

A supplementary Charter was issued on 17th Nov. 1727 (1 George II) by which all fines inflicted by the courts established under the charter of 1726 were granted to the Company. In the next year another charter which was dated the 4th November 1728 (2 George II) empowered the Commissioners of the Admiralty to give power to the Captains of the ships belonging to the Company to seize foreign ships sailing from the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) to the East Indies.

Madras was taken by the French in Sep. 1746, and was not restored to the English till Dec. 1749; but it did not again become

21. Fawcett : p. 225.

22. *Ibid.* quoting from the Directors' Despatch of 12th Feb. 1731, para 107.

23. Fawcett : p. 225.

the seat of the Presidency till April 1752, Fort St. David meanwhile continuing to be the headquarters of the President and Council. The French occupation of Madras put an end to the Mayor's Court at that town, and so a new Charter was issued on 8th January 1753 (26 George II); as it had been found by experience that the Charter of 1726 was defective in some respects the new Charter was an improved one and was granted to all the three Presidencies.²⁴ It was provided by this Charter that there should be, at the Factory of Fort William in Bengal, "A Body Politick and Corporate by the name of the Mayor and Aldermen of Calcutta at Fort William in Bengal", that it should consist of a Mayor and nine Alderman, seven of whom, along with the Mayor, should be natural born subjects of the Crown; that two of the Aldermen might be foreign Protestants but should be subjects of the State in amity with the British Crown. The first Mayor and Aldermen under the Charter should be last Mayor and Aldermen under the previous Charter. The annual election of a new Mayor was provided for. The Mayor, on the termination of his office, was to continue as an Alderman and provision was made for filling up any vacancy or vacancies in the offices of Aldermen and Mayor. The President and Council were empowered by the Charter to remove, upon reasonable cause shown, on a complaint in writing, any Alderman from office; but the latter was given a reasonable time to make a statement in his defence and was to be summoned for that purpose if he was residing within the limits of Calcutta. He was also allowed to appeal to the Crown in Council against such removal.

There was a petition of the Castes at Madras demanding the recognition of their customs. In reply, the Company wrote as follows :²⁵ "We say in the place that such differences that happen between the Natives, in which the King's subjects were not involved, these may and should be decided among themselves according to their own customs or by Justices or Referees to be appointed by themselves or otherwise as they think fit; but if they request and choose them to be decided by English Laws, those and those only must be pursued, and pursued too according to the directions in the Charter; and this likewise must be the case when differences happen between Natives and Subjects of England, where either party is obstinate and determined to go to law."

24. For the Charter, see Shaw : pp. 252-281.

25. Despatch to Madras dated 10th Nov. 1732. See also Fawcett, p. 224; and Keith, p. 48. Keith further says that this decision did not cause much change in the actual practice, because while in Madras there could be no effectual substitute for the Mayor's Court, in Calcutta these cases of Indians were disposed of by Zamindari Court of Cutcherry.

The Governor or President and Council of Calcutta had by Charter, the appointment of Aldermen, who, after that nomination were to continue for life. But this continuation in office was strangely circumstanced ; for the same Governor and Council were empowered to remove, without even the concurrence of the Corporation, any Alderman upon a reasonable cause, of which they were left the sole judges in India ; their sentence or adjudication of removal was only subject to an appeal to His Majesty in Council in England.²⁶

The Sheriff was to be elected by the President and Council and was to take up the duties of his office from the 20th day of December. Any vacancy in his office was to be filled in by the Council.

The Mayor's Court was authorised to try, hear and determine all civil suits, actions and pleas within the town of Calcutta or within any factories subordinate to it. It was, however, provided that the jurisdiction of the Court should not extend to all suits and actions between Indian Natives and that these suits and actions might be determined among themselves unless both parties submitted to the determination of the Mayor's Court.²⁷

The rules of practice in Mayor's Court in civil actions were prescribed in the Charter. The cause of action was to exceed five pagodas and was not to lie between Indian Natives only.

The Mayor himself was not to act as judge in any action or suit commenced against himself. In a suit brought against the Company the Court was empowered to issue summons against the President and Council and also processes against the Company, its estates and effects. The Company could bring action or suit in the Mayor's Court against a private person.

An Accountant-General for the Court was to be appointed by the Court of Directors ; and he was to carry into execution the orders of the Court relating to "suitors' moneys, effects and securities" and to keep the accounts thereof with the President and Council.

26. Bolt's *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, p. 78.

27. Morley in his Digest (Introduction) says that Bombay was an exception, because it does not appear that its native inhabitants were ever actually exempted from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court or any peculiar loss was administered to them in that Court. In the Charter occur the words, "unless the same shall be between the Indian Natives only, or unless the cause of suit shall not exceed the value of five pagodas.

Cowell thinks that this exemption of civil suits between Natives from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court "appears to involve a renunciation of sovereign authority at that time over the Natives".

The Court was empowered to administer oaths and affirmations and to frame its own rules of practice and also to settle a table of fees.

The President and Council were to be constituted a Court of Record and to hear appeals from the Mayor's Court. Their judgment in appeal was to be final, if the value of the matter in dispute did not exceed 1,000 pagodas, but if it exceeded that sum, an appeal might lie to the King-in-Council. This appeal might be made direct from the Mayor's Court, although the matter in dispute did not exceed the value of one thousand pagodas, provided that the President and Council were unable to give judgment for want of sufficient number of disinterested judges of appeal amongst them.'

The Charter also provided a Court of Requests for the town of Calcutta and the Factories belonging to it. Twelve Commissioners were appointed under the Charter with three or more sitting in rotation and deciding disputes not exceeding the value of five pagodas. The Charter also ordered that the Mayor's Court and the Court of Requests should follow the President and Council in the event of the removal of the seat of the Presidency from Calcutta. In such a contingency the Mayor and Aldermen and the Commissioner of the Court of Requests were to be chosen out of the inhabitants at the new seat of the Presidency. These Courts would continue to enjoy the same power as before. At the end, the Charter provided that (1) if the Company removed the seat of their Presidency from any of the said principal settlements to any subordinate place, the like jurisdiction, etc., was to be continued at such new seat of the Presidency and its dependencies, as had been before granted in respect to such principal settlements ; (2) if the Company should for a time lose the possession of any principal settlement whereby the election of officers should be suspended, and such settlement should afterwards be restored to the Company the suspension of functioning was not to be construed a dissolution of any such corporation ; and the Court of Directors might nominate officers to continue till such time as others could be appointed. This provision aimed to avoid difficulties similar to that created by the French capture of Madras in 1746 and the consequent legal annihilation of the Mayor's Court.

Procedure in the Mayor's Court was by bill and answer, analogous to the proceedings in the Chancery Court in England. But a quorum of three Alderman could find damages without ever appointing a jury.

Thus, in Calcutta after the Charter of 1753, there were four distinct courts of judicature, "exercising jurisdiction derived from

the English Crown over British subjects, and over natives in their employment who voluntarily placed themselves under the courts." —(1) The Court of the President and Council as Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery holding Quarter Sessions ; (2) The President and Council acting as a Court Record and hearing appeals from the Mayor's Court ; (3) The Mayor's Court ; and (4) The Court of Requests. All these Courts administered the law of England as it stood at the introduction of each Charter. Thus, in the period 1727-53, it was the Laws of England as they stood in the year 1727, and from 1753 onwards it was the laws as they stood in 1753.

Instructions were issued as to how the new Court was to proceed against prisoners not understanding English, what crimes were misdemeanours, and what crimes were simple felonies ; what punishments were to be inflicted, and in what particulars the sentence of transportation was to be imposed ; and what the procedure was to be in each particular class of cases. These instructions gave precedents of indictment to each crime and the defined oaths to be administered by the interpreter when the prisoner did not understand English. Other details were also given that were to be followed in cases where any Portuguese, Gentoo or Native of India not born of British parents should be prosecuted for any capital offence and the instructions said that such "will probably often happen."²⁸

A proclamation issued by the Justices of Peace, for the town and district of Calcutta at their Quarter Sessions, held on 3rd June 1762 announced an intention of enforcing English criminal law in the town of Calcutta.²⁹

28. Sir E. Impey affirmed that "long before his time (1774-83) the laws of England both Statute and Common Law, had been indiscriminately put in force at Calcutta ; that murders, highway robberies, burglaries, felonies of all kinds, had been tried in the same manner as at the Old Bailey, and convictions and executions had on them, as well against Hindus, Musulmans, Portuguese, and other foreign inhabitants as against those who were more especially called British subjects. Besides records, and the precedents they had established, he had been guided by the Charter, and by instructions sent out by the Court of Directors, showing the new Court how to proceed when any portuguese, Hindu or other native of India, not born of British parents, should happen to be prosecuted for any capital offence, which according to the instructions, would "probably often happen." (Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey by Barwell E Impey, p. 298).

29. A copy of this proclamation was discovered by Mr. C. W. Broughton Rous among his papers, but it is not to be found now in the India Office or in the Calcutta High Court. (Firminger : Introduction to the Fifth Report, p. LXXXVI and note 3).

Among the early Parliamentary papers relating to India printed in 1788, is an account of 45 persons prosecuted in the Court of Quarter Sessions in Calcutta from 1st Jan. 1762 to 1st October, 1774. The first case is dated August 22, 1762, and is therefore subsequent to the date of the above proclamation. In several of these cases capital sentence was inflicted.

The Aldermen of the Mayor's Court were usually the junior servants of the Company ; and some of them were not very much above their teens. There was a great deal of doubt as to the amenability, the subpoena, of witnesses residing beyond "the Mahratta Ditch" in those cases in which debts had to be realised from the natives living outside the Company's settlements. In such cases other methods than by suing in the Mayor's Court had to be resorted to.

Verelst says that English laws could not be introduced into Bengal at all, as Indian customs were absolutely irreconcilable with English principles and that Indians had to be left to their own customs and laws ; justice had to be administered to them in their own courts by Indian judges, while a court of English Judges assisted by worthy Indians should enjoy an appellate jurisdiction ; and European judges should never be given original jurisdiction over Indians. He adds: "As well might we transplant the full grown oak to the banks of the Ganges as dream that any part of the code, matured by the patient labours of successive judges and legislators in the islands, can possibly coalesce with the customs of Bengal."³⁰ In illustration of his view, he cites many cases, among them being that of Radhacharan Meter who was condemned on a charge of forgery in 1768, on the basis of English law. He was pardoned as the principal inhabitants of Calcutta submitted to the Governor and Council a petition for mercy, in astonishment and alarm at such a sentence.³¹

William Bolts found serious defects in the working of these courts. First, whereas the Charter of 1726 gave the Mayor's Court the power of electing from among their members, to fill up vacancies in the office of Aldermen, by that of 1753 the right of electing the Aldermen was transferred to the President and Council who could thus "make and unmake the judges". The Mayor's Court was partly composed of the Company's servants and partly of Free Merchants. Aldermen of the latter category were generally

30. Verelst, *A View of the Rise, Progress and the Present State of the English Government in Bengal*, (1772), p. 134.

31. Verelst, p. 141 and Appendix ; and Long's Selections, No. 840.

granted by the Governor *dastaks* for carrying private trade duty free.

Also since the Governor and Council, sitting as a Court of Appeal, had the power of finally decreeing in all causes under the value of 1,000 pagodas, in suits wherein the Company or the said Governor and Council were concerned, there was little chance of justice being had, except where the property in dispute exceeded that sum or when the aggrieved party could afford appeal to the sovereign and Council of England.”³²

Where an Alderman was dismissed from his office in the Mayor’s Court he could appeal to the King-in-Council as allowed by the Charter; but even if his appeal should be successful he could not go back to India without a license secured from the Company, and there was the further disability that if he should be absent from Calcutta for a space of twelve months his office became vacant.

The Court of Requests was the only Court in Calcutta, according to Bolts, that did “real and essential” service to the poor inhabitants and was not under the undue influence of the Governor and Council, as the members of that court filled up the vacancies by ballot among themselves.

The Governor and Members of Council in their capacity as Justices of the Peace, occasionally, or as Bolts says “frequently, refused to take cognizance of the complaints laid before them on oath; and even from their places on the Bench at Quarter Sessions they stopped the due course of proceedings on frivolous pretences and by adjournments.”³³

Bolts departed from Bengal in 1768, because the Governor and Select Committee banished him from that province by an order

32. Bolts, p. 85. See for details “A Dutch Adventurer under John Company by N. L. Hallward (1920); and Buckland “Dictionary of Indian Biography,” (1906), p. 48.

Bolts entered the service in the summer of 1760 and created plenty of trouble for himself and for the Governor and Council in the course of which he got himself frequently censured and was subsequently suspended from the service. He resigned in 1766, though he continued to reside and trade in the country for some years more. He quarrelled subsequently with the Bengal authorities, was arrested in 1768 and deported to England as an interloper.

One of the unaccountable and evidently discreditable features in the treatment of Bolts by the Calcutta Council was their nomination of him as an Alderman of the Mayor’s Court at Calcutta when he was actually under a sentence of suspension from their service. The date of Bolt’s nomination to the Aldermanship was 11th August 1766. As Alderman Bolts possessed a statutory right of sitting as Judge of the Mayor’s Court for life and was not legally removable from his office except for specific offences.

33. Bolts, p. 86.

dated 28th April 1767, in accordance with a resolution of the Committee of the 18th April, but, as he held, in defiance of the guarantee that under the Charter of 1753 he was irremovable from the Mayor's Court and continued to be a Judge of that Court. In defiance of this guarantee of the Charter, the Governor and Council directed the Mayor's Court to remove him from his Aldermanship. On the 1st October 1767, the Board ordered that the Mayor's Court might apply for the nomination of an Alderman in his room, as they had directed Bolts to proceed to Europe by the next ship sailing from Bengal. Bolts addressed in reply a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen, in which he vigorously protested against the tyranny of the Governor and Council, saying "How deplorable would have been our situation if at the base desire of a Governor or even a Governor and his Council, the express orders of the Charter should be set aside and free British subject exposed to be deprived of his honour and liberty."³⁴ Bolts defied Verelst and his Council to legally disqualify him from the Mayor's Court and if that should happen, he threatened that he might be forced in his own defence, "to print and to publish to the world at home what may add to the national odium against the Company." He also addressed to the Court of Directors an appeal against the orders of the Calcutta Council. As if to complete the discomfiture of Governor Verelst, the Mayor's Court replied to the Council that, "if and when the seat of Bolts as an Alderman should become vacant, then only would the Court apply to the Council for the appointment of another gentlemen to the vacancy."

As the quarrel between Bolts and the Calcutta Council deepened and worsened, the latter passed a resolution on the 18th April 1768 that they would not take any notice of any letters that might proceed from Mr. Bolts, as he had forfeited all title to the Company's protection. The Governor had taken measures, in the meantime, to prevent Bolts from collecting his outstanding balances, and to seize and imprison his agents under the plea that such actions related to the country governments. Bolts, in his last letter dated also 18th April, 1769, had held out the threat that he was not to be trifled with and that he was expecting commissions from the High Court of Chancery, "which will not only put it out of any man's power to screen himself behind the garb assumed under the names of 'Nabobs' and country governments but also force into light the most secret proceedings of the Junto called the Select Committee in all things wherein the liberty, property or life of a British subject is concerned."

34. N. L. Hallward, p. 53.

In another matter Bolts contrived to quarrel with the Council. In paragraphs 18 and 19 of his petition to the Court of Directors, dated London 19th May 1769, which was referred by the Directors to their Joint Committee of Correspondence and Law Suits, Bolts charged the Members of the Calcutta Council, in their capacity as Judges of the general Court of Justice at Calcutta, with having prevented his witnesses from giving evidence before the Grand Jury, on his application to the latter body for protection, in May 1768.

The refusal of the Council to accede to Bolts' demand for the freeing of his agents from custody by the country powers, had a remarkable sequel. Three³⁵ of them followed him to London and gave great trouble to the Directors who directed the Council at Fort William to give them a faithful account of the whole matter. In their reply, dated 2nd April 1771, the Board justified their expulsion of the three Armenians concerned in this affair, on the ground that they were discovered to have been intriguing in the court of Shuja-ud-daula of Oudh and believed to have given Bolts copies of the correspondence of the Council with the Nawab Vazier and that it was necessary to stop such intrigues at all costs. Bolt had continually defied their orders prohibiting the residence of Gomastas and of Englishmen in the territories of Oudh and Benares; and they had vehemently held that their motives in issuing such orders were purely political and not personal.

A bill was submitted to Parliament for compelling persons dismissed from the service of the Company to depart immediately from the East Indies and for better regulating the conduct of the servants of the Company, but it failed to pass (March 1770). The power of the Company to deport persons remained obscure and ill-defined for a number of years afterwards.

The charges that Bolts brought against the Calcutta Courts were that the Mayor's Court had become rather a scourge in the hands of the Governor and Council than an instrument of relief and that the Governor in Council had not only the natives, but also the Grand and Petty Juries, at their mercy; while the right of appeal to England was more showy than real. Again, though the legal jurisdiction of the Company's Courts in Calcutta was limited by the Charter and Acts of Parliament to the City of Calcutta and to some subordinate factories, yet in practice and reality their jurisdiction was stretched to cover the whole of the Nawab's dominions.

35. Cojah Gregory, Cojah Mal and Cojah Johannes Padre Raphael. For details about them, see M. J. Seth: "The Armenians in India."

" Within the English Settlement of Calcutta the members of the Council, from acting at one and the same time in so many different capacities, have among the natives, who are in general ignorant of the English laws, the power of assuming that official character which best serves their purpose. Thus, whenever they choose it, they can and do with great convenience transfer the native complaint from the Counsellor to the Justice of the Peace, from the Justice to the Zamindars' Cutcherries, and from Zamindar to the Secret Committee, where each member is bound to the other under oaths of secrecy, not to divulge what passes. If the complaint be not totally quashed by these means, and those gentlemen are apprehensive that it may be revived within the settlement in some shape or other, through the assistance of some daring person they have this last resources, of transferring the complaint, under any pretence, from the Secret Committee to the Nabob, where they can do what they please with him ; and this mode of proceeding has been actually practised." ³⁶

Mr. Richard Whittal who was a Free Merchant at Calcutta from 1764-70 and also an attorney in the Mayor's Court, complained of the following defects in the working of that Court functioning in Calcutta under the Charter of 1753.

(1) The jurisdiction of this Court was extended beyond the bounds of Calcutta or its subordinate factories and processes issued to one of the Company's servants by special orders of the Governor and Council.³⁷

(2) The criminal jurisdiction of the Quarter Sessions which was intended to have only the same limits of jurisdiction as the Mayor's Court had comprehended natives from every part of the country.

(3) It was apprehended that any European might be brought in the same manner from any part of the country, except from other European Factories.

(4) Three cases were instanced wherein the Mayor's Court refused to admit an appeal, the Superior Court of the Governor and Council refused to take cognizance on that plea.

(5) Attorneys were reprimanded in the Mayor's Court for appealing against its proceedings. There were only four Attorneys practising in it and the Judges who were junior servants were not educated in law.

(6) The Mayor's Court held that they had a right to refuse to take cognizance of cases arising in their jurisdiction. In 1768

36. Bolts : pp. 90-91.

37. Parliamentary Seventh Report, Appendix I, p. 332.

some of the Judges in that court held the Court had nothing to do with the laws of England or words to the effect.

(7) The Governor and the several of the Aldermen had threatened the Attorneys for attempting to bring actions against the Company's servants.

There were other complaints by other persons against the Courts.

Mr. Russell held that though the Mayor's Court could not exercise jurisdiction over the natives unless by their consent, the Court of Oyer and Terminer could try all persons, both natives and Europeans.³⁸

Mr. Becher held that only such natives as lived under the British flag were subject to this jurisdiction and that where death sentence was pronounced against natives the practice was to get the consent of the Nawab's government before execution.³⁹

Mr. Nuttall, Solicitor to the Company, informed the Parliamentary Committee of 1772 that there were only two instances known to him of complaints made to the Court of Directors against the judges of the Mayor's Court, *viz.*, the complaint of Whittal and the complaint of Jephson. Jephson's petition dated London, 2nd March, 1771, declared that Godwin the Mayor, in the course of his proceedings on the Bench, frequently said that "they (the Judges of the Mayor's Court) had nothing to do with the laws of England there (e.g. in the Mayor's Court); that the Laws of England were never made for them and that he would not hear them named while he sat on the Bench, Jephson was denied an appeal from the Mayor's Court to the President and Council, on the ground that the Proceedings of that Court were only interlocutory and not mandatory.

The Court of Directors, in their letter to Bengal, dated 3rd May 1771, reproved the President and Council at Calcutta in refusing the appeal of Jephson and for basing the refusal on the ground of the interlocutory nature of the proceedings. They ordered the President and Council to receive the appeal and to do justice. Consequently, in their Consultation of the 3rd Jan. 1772, the President and Council inquired into the charge of Jephson against the Mayor, examined three of the Aldermen present at the time, an Attorney who was concerned in some of the Proceedings against Jephson, and other witnesses who said that they heard Mr. Godwin only declare that the Mayor's Court was not a Court of Law but only of Equity. Consequently the Council resolved, on the evidence, that they had no reason to consider Godwin in any degree culpable.

38. Parliamentary Committee Report, Appendix 1, pp. 338-40.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 332.

In the matter of Mr. Whittal's charges the Court of Directors ordered, in their General Letter to Bengal, dated 3rd May 1771, that the Council should admit his appeal.

The Parliamentary Committee thus enunciated their recommendations :—

(1) The Mayor's Court was also to try cases in which the Company itself was a party and the Court of Oyer and Terminer to punish offences by any of its principal servants. Yet because the judges of these courts were removable by the President and Council therefore the sentences could not be reviewed except by an appeal to the King in Council. Therefore these courts could not be free and independent in any case where the Company was a party or where a member of Council was charged with a criminal offence.

(2) With respect to Europeans who were bound to be judged according to the laws of England, the Judges of these courts were junior servants not versed in the law. These judges and the President and Council had frequently appealed to the Directors for help on difficult points, especially in the matter of cognizance of murders, robberies and crimes committed by the Europeans not immediately under the Company's flag.

(3) The third defect was that since the jurisdiction of the Court of Oyer and Terminer was confined to the precincts of Calcutta and the subordinate factories, the consequence was many of His Majesty's subjects residing in Bengal escaped that jurisdiction.

It may be noted that the Charter of 1726 did not help to remove the doubt that existed as to the validity of Articles of War and their use for the purposes of Military discipline in times of peace, though the Company's despatches sent along with the Charters hoped that this difficulty would be remedied. There had long been a complaint about the refractoriness of the Company's soldiers, who used to desert and run over to the enemy and kill one another in their drunken quarrels. Such offences should have been adequately met by the Courts Martial in the usual way. The doubt should have arisen with regard to the validity of the Articles of War being enforceable in times of peace. The Charter of 1726 authorised the use of Martial Law in time of war. The Mutiny Act of 1754 authorised the application to the Company's forces of provisions corresponding to those embodied in the annual Mutiny Acts of England. This Act imposed penalties for mutiny, desertion and similar offences on the part of officers and soldiers in the Company's service. It also empowered the Court of Directors to give authority to their

President and Council.⁴⁰ Commanders-in-Chief were to hold Courts Martial for the trial and punishment of the military offences. The King was also empowered to issue articles of war for the better government of the Company's Forces. This Act of 1754 contained a provision which made acts of oppressions committed by the Company's President or Councils cognizable and punishable in England.

According to the authority of Col. Wilson⁴¹ the Madras Government made certain Selections in 1747 from the Articles of War then enforced in England. Similar articles had been in use in Bombay in 1729. In 1748 regulations were framed by the Company for their military forces in India and directions were expressly given that military offences should be tried "according to the Rules, Articles and Customs of War in His Majesty's service."⁴²

Lastly it may be pointed out that the Mayor's Court was also expected to deal with cases of seizure of property by the Council without proper judicial authority, since the Directors wanted to obviate the troubles they were put to by being called to account in Chancery in respect of such seizures and counsel for the parties always held such seizures to be arbitrary and illegal. In their despatch to Bengal of 6th February 1733, (Para 80) the Company remarked to the Council that the Charter was calculated to secure their property as well as that of every man and many instances of such illegal proceedings constituted one main reason of their applying the remedy of the Charter. Fawcett also remarks on this point.⁴³ "One of the main reasons was to avoid civil litigation against it (the Company) in England due to executive intermeddling with private property. For this purpose it was requisite not only to have courts with civil and testamentary jurisdiction to take cognizance of such cases, but also to establish them under authority that would be recognised by the English Courts."

40. Fawcett, p. 215; Ilbert, pp. 35-36.

41. History of the Madras Army, Vol. I, p. 48.

'The Madras Government owing to inconvenience arising of a military code made at the end of April 1747 Selections from the Articles of War then in force in England and directed that they should be applied to their own troops. Wilson gives on p. 48 to 51, Articles 1, 7 to 14 and 18 and 19 of the same. These detail the punishments that could be inflicted by General Court Martial, etc.

42. Fawcett : p. 11 (Note).

43. Fawcett : pp. 216-17.

The Case of Mr. J. S. Buckingham, the Editor of the "Calcutta Journal"

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The history of Anglo-Indian journalism, which has yet to be fully investigated, reflects an important, though little-known aspect of the Company's administration, and, as such, it deserves the close attention of the historians of British India. The part that the early European journalists in India played in the struggle for the freedom of the press is indeed memorable, for it is to their labour, enterprise and sufferings that the Indian press largely owed its emancipation during the regime of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

From the time of Mr. J. A. Hicky, the first Englishman to start a newspaper in Calcutta, the European journalists were usually independent and frequently in conflict with the authorities. More than one English editor was expelled from India by the local government, and among them, the case of Mr. James Silk Buckingham is specially noticeable. Mr. Buckingham was the editor of the "Calcutta Journal", but his writings proved so disgusting to the acting Governor-General, Mr. Adams, that his licence to reside in India was cancelled in 1823, and he was forcibly shipped off from Bengal. His offence consisted merely in the publication of a paragraph, ridiculing the appointment of Dr. Bryce, a Scottish chaplain, to the post of a clerk in the committee of stationery. It is needless to emphasise the fact that this offence was not grave enough to warrant the severe punishment of deportation from India.

Mr. Buckingham raised the question in England, and started a relentless agitation against the highhandedness of the Calcutta authorities. He was eventually elected a member of Parliament, and an entire Parliamentary Blue-Book (No. 601 of 1834) was devoted to his historic case. In the end, the Company was obliged to pay him an annuity of £200 by way of compensation for his financial loss. But, in the beginning, the Court of Proprietors had paid no heed to his complaints, and had in fact rejected his claims for reparation in one of their adjourned meetings¹ held on January 18, 1826.

1. Vide Proceedings of a General Court of Proprietors of East India stock held on January 18, 1826, pursuant to an adjournment from the 21st of December last.

This meeting was held on a requisition² sent by two proprietors, and its proceedings³ are of special interest to the students of modern Indian history and merit a detailed recapitulation from the original records of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company.

The Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, one of the signatories to the requisition, opened the debate, and delivered an impressive speech in support of the claims of Mr. Buckingham. His arguments were as follows :—“Whether those measures⁴ have been wise or unwise, I will not now stop to enquire ; but I will prove that they have been the cause of unnecessary, unmerited, and severe injury to a most deserving individual. I am not now debating the question, whether other measures might not have been adopted, which would have effected the object Government had in view ; but I will call the attention of the Court to this single fact that great injury has been inflicted on him—*injury that I think could not be contemplated by the Government* ; I say this, because I have never heard that Mr. Buckingham has been accused at any time, or by any person, either publicly or privately, as having been guilty of any act which would render him unworthy of the respect and confidence which he has long enjoyed amongst all those to whom he is known. I will confine myself to the simple proposition that a most serious injury has been done to an individual,—an injury growing out of certain measures which the Government in India deemed it necessary to adopt with reference to a control over the press in that country ; and I beg leave to state most explicitly, that I do not mean to hint anything whatever, as to whether the Government were right or wrong in placing the press under censorship, or in adopting the system of license, considering those subjects as quite distinct from that under deliberation at present.

“Mr. Buckingham has long suffered under calumny, but he has at length completely triumphed over the alleged improprieties

2. *Vide Requisition from Douglas Kinnaird, and Joseph Hume, dated December 3, 1825, “We the undersigned Proprietors of the East India Stock request you will be pleased to let the ensuing Quarterly General Court of Proprietors be made further special, for the purpose of taking into consideration the following propositions ;—That these be laid before this Court copies of all correspondence between the Court of Directors and Mr. J. S. Buckingham respecting his claims for reparation of the injury sustained by him in his property in Calcutta, in consequence of the measures of the Bengal Government.”*

3. The debate was held at the East India House in Leadenhall Street.

4. The reference is to the regulations relating to the censorship of the Press, adopted by the Bengal Government.

which had been laid to his charge ; and proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, that there had been nothing in his public or private conduct that in the slightest degree deserved reproach or blame. I will now point out the reason of the outcry raised against Mr. Buckingham.

" On his way to India, Mr. Buckingham met with a gentleman named Bankes, the present Member for the University of Cambridge, and, unfortunately for him, he remained some time in the company of that individual. Mr. Buckingham wrote two volumes, the result of his travels in the East. He arrived in India with views far different from that of publishing his travels ; but having the opportunity of giving them to the world, he thought fit to avail himself of it, and sent forth a statement of the nature of his work, for which a respectable bookseller offered him a very large consideration. Not many months, however, had passed by, before a statement arrived⁵ in England, which struck directly at the root of Mr. Buckingham's reputation. That statement⁶ proclaimed Mr. Buckingham to be a literary thief. The charge having been circulated, not only did the book-seller⁷ refuse to publish the travels, but an article appeared,⁸ describing Mr. Buckingham as a most immoral character and a mere charlatan. The consequence necessarily was that a universal impression, unfavourable to Mr. Buckingham, spread itself all over India.

" These were the humiliating and disadvantageous circumstances under which Mr. Buckingham became the conductor of a daily newspaper.⁹ His paper attained a circulation, and produced a profit, far greater than was ever before known in India, and equal, perhaps, to any that was ever realized in this country by similar property. In the course of five years¹⁰ very large sums of money and a vast deal of labour were expended in establishing this journal. At the end of that time, it produced a net profit of £8,000 per annum ; and when Mr. Buckingham had paid all his debts, he invested £20,000 in buildings, and in setting up the Columbian Press, which was the finest establishment of the kind in

5. In the first instance, it was made through Mr. Hobhouse.

6. Mr. William Bankes asserted that Mr. Buckingham's work had actually been stolen from him. Vide letter from Mr. William Bankes to Mr. Hobhouse.

7. Mr. Murray of Albemarle Street, London.

8. The author of the article was Mr. Bankes himself.

9. The Calcutta Journal started by him in 1818.

10. i.e., from 1818 to 1823 when Mr. Buckingham was deported from India.

the British colonies. One quarter of the paper he sold to a hundred independent gentlemen for the sum of £10,000, which he received in hard cash. All this showed the well-founded prospect which existed of permanent success to this paper. This success was obtained in despite of all the imputations which had been cast on Mr. Buckingham. Those charges have since been brought to the test in this country, and the investigation has left the character of Mr. Buckingham pure and unspotted. Mr. Buckingham stood forward as an individual in the first class of society in India ; he stood forward as a man of honour, a man of integrity, as a moral man. He discharged his public duty fairly and honestly, but certainly did not act the part of a man worldly wise. The political enemies of Mr. Buckingham, the editors of other newspapers, made the charges of Mr. Bankes the ground for abuse—for abuse the most horrible. The Government of Bengal, no doubt, still believes that he is a literary swindler. The feeling will, of course, remain, until the truth goes forth to India from the courts of justice here. Apologies have been made to him, and the charges are admitted to have been all false ! The calumnies of Mr. Bankes are thus proved to have been utterly groundless ; but the sufferings of his innocent victim have not been the less severe ; for the end was, that Mr. Buckingham's ruin in India was accomplished.

" I do think that relief should be extended to him upon account of the very extraordinary and unnecessary measures resorted to by the Bengal Government after Mr. Buckingham's departure from the country. I defy contradiction to the fact, that those measures were unnecessary. Upon his leaving India, another editor was appointed ; and, in a short time, the Government formed a determination to put the press under license. The editors were obliged to be responsible for every article which should appear in their papers ; and if they fell into error, the Government could deprive them of their license for printing : thus, in point of fact, subjecting all property in the press to actual annihilation, by what is nominally a mere suspension of the license. This was the state of things when the then editor or one of the proprietors, wrote an article,¹¹ which, it seems, was displeasing to the Government, and the license was suspended. No renewal of the license was given ;¹² The consequence is that Mr. Buckingham's property has been ruined.¹³

11. The article ridiculed a chaplain of the Scottish Church.

12. The Bengal Government refused a license to one Mr. Muston who had a wish to become editor of this Journal.

13. The books of Messrs. Alexander & Co., Agents for Mr. Buckingham, showed that Mr. Buckingham lost many thousand pounds.

"I am quite at a loss to account for the course which had been pursued, unless by supposing that the Government were desirous of striking terror into the minds of all those who were disposed to mention the name of Mr. Buckingham with respect. Can any gentleman rise and assert, that there was any connexion between Mr. Buckingham, as a proprietor of this journal, and the owner of those types, and his conduct at the period when he acted as Editor? The two things cannot, by any ingenuity, be mixed together. The Government, when the license was applied for, had in their hands the power of annihilating the press, if it offended them. What then ought they to have done? They ought to have said, "Let the paper go on. It concerns not us what proceeds it may return to Mr. Buckingham. We know, that if the concern be misconducted we can put it down at once." Mr. Buckingham might have disposed of that property in this country, unconscious of the events which were taking place in India. I maintain, Sir, that, in a court of law, the holder of this equitable security for money advanced, would have a strong case against the Bengal Government for destroying, on account of some old grudge, the property of Mr. Buckingham, on the supposed stability of which he had been induced to lend his money.

"My heart yearned within me when I heard the tale of his distresses. He has become the victim of circumstances, which it was not in his power to control. He has claims not only on the justice, on the humanity, but also on the liberality of the Company. I freely admit that Mr. Buckingham has uttered opinions decidedly opposed to the restrictions on the press in India; but how has he acted on this very subject? He has gone before the Privy Council to have, at his own expense, this great public question fairly decided according to law.¹⁴

"There can be no doubt that Mr. Buckingham is entitled to compensation for the losses he has sustained, and I trust that this Court will not hesitate respecting the means of granting that compensation. I do not ask you to give a sum of money to Mr. Buckingham on account of any suffering, bodily or mental, that he has endured. True it is, that he *has* suffered heavily; but my claim on his behalf is grounded on actual and positive loss of property. Mr. Buckingham will bring forward documents to show what price he could have obtained for his property, if justice had been done to it. I should greatly prefer that the production of those papers, on which a grant of £5,000 might be grounded, should be proposed by some member of the executive body,¹⁵ than by any ordinary individual Proprietor. A grant to Mr. Buckingham

14. The decision of the Privy Council went against Mr. Buckingham.

would, in my opinion, do the highest honour to the East India Company, and would be only an act of common justice to that deeply-injured individual."

Mr. Poynder,¹⁶ a city attorney by profession, was one of the leading orators against Mr. Buckingham on this day. His arguments were as follows :—

" If Mr. Buckingham has been wrong, then the Government must have been right—and *vice versa*, if the the Government has been right, it must necessarily follow that Mr. Buckingham has been wrong. It is impossible that they can both be right. Now, let us hear what the Government has alleged. It is this—that Mr. Buckingham, as editor of a public journal, made a long series of the most unprovoked attacks against the Government, and those attacks were the substantive grounds of offence, upon which the Government subsequently proceeded. The Government said to Mr. Buckingham, ' You are endeavouring to sow the seeds of sedition and danger in this empire, and we cannot allow you to proceed.'¹⁷ Mr. Buckingham indeed endeavoured to persuade the people of India that they were not so well governed as they ought to be,¹⁸ and there is no doubt that his auditors were both numerous and attentive. In the first instance, however, the Government did not apply the strong arm with respect to him. They only made a remonstrance to him. Their remonstrance, however, was of no avail. The Government of India, while they had any regard to the interests they were bound to support, could not endure such charges and such reproach to pass without notice. Yet it was not until this system of abuse had gone on for a very considerable length of time, and in actual despite of entreaties, and of warnings, and of appeals, that Mr. Buckingham's license was withdrawn.¹⁹ Is it for conduct such as this that he is entitled to your support, to your influence, or your money ? I do not mean to say anything against the moral character of Mr. Buckingham. This has not been questioned, and with it we have nothing to do. His deportation had nothing to do with it.²⁰

15. i.e., the Court of Directors.

16. He was a Proprietor of the East India Stock.

17. This accusation was highly exaggerated.

18. This is an accusation which may be raised against every man in every country that ever suggested any reform or improvement.

19. Mr. Poynder did not evidently know the real facts of the case, or he misstated them. There was no systematic abuse of the Government in the Calcutta Journal.

20. Mr. Poynder is again mistaken. The false accusation against Mr. Buckingham was the ultimate cause of his controversy with Dr. Bryce that led to his deportation.

"Mr. Buckingham was not sent from India on account of being a literary pirate, or because of any charge against his morality, but for his attacks upon the Government—for his perseverance in a line of politics which ought not to be endured in India, or in England, or anywhere.²¹ The subject here is an affair of business, and not of charity. Let the public at large subscribe for the relief of Mr. Buckingham, if his circumstances are so unfortunate as to need such a relief.

"It makes no difference whether Mr. Buckingham was owner of the whole, or only one-fourth part of the paper; so long as he had the power to continue the same course of politics, the Government had a right to continue the line of conduct they had adopted. And this, too, not only with respect to whoever might be editor, but also with regard to Mr. Buckingham, while they knew he had the power of disseminating through his paper, that seasoning of contempt and aversion for the constituted authorities, with which his publication had been so plentifully provided.²²

"There has been nothing proved against the Government. Until it is proved that the Government has behaved improperly, that in their conduct towards Mr. Buckingham they have been influenced by private instead of public motives, I certainly cannot regard him as a man either to be esteemed, to be rewarded, or to receive any money. I respect Mr. Buckingham as a man of talent, but talent has nothing to do with this question. We are to judge him as a politician. Is this, then, I ask, a case for compensation? I say, decidedly not."

After Mr. Poynder's speech, Mr. Lewin rose to support the mover of the proposition. His arguments may be thus indicated:—

(i) "The question is not whether Mr. Buckingham had acted right or wrong—not whether the Government of Bengal had acted right or wrong—but whether that gentleman was to be entirely proscribed."

(ii) "His property is destroyed, and he is not allowed, even by proxy, to attend to his business."

(iii) "Mr. Buckingham has been treated in the most unjust and oppressive manner that has been described. This Court must interfere for his relief, and for the purpose of preventing such practices in future. I demand of the Court whether they will permit Mr. Buckingham to be hunted through every corner and destroyed like a wild beast." "A double punishment has been inflicted on

21. Actually it was only for one act (and that the first) that Mr. Buckingham was deported.

22. This is an absurd supposition, for the Government had the power to change the Editor every day, or to put a censor over every sheet issued.

Mr. Buckingham. No Man is infallible—every man may fall into error ; and if Mr. Buckingham has erred, let not his punishment be greater than his offence. I will admit, for argument's sake, that Mr. Buckingham was wrong ; but, was not his banishment from India even a more than sufficient punishment?"

Mr. S. Dixon advanced the following arguments to oppose the motion :—

(i) "Mr. Buckingham has abused²³ the Government of India in the grossest manner."

(ii) "For most of his misfortunes, he has only to thank himself. He brought ruin upon his own head."²⁴

Sir C. Forbes thereupon supported the motion on the following grounds :—

(i) "It has always appeared to me that Mr. Buckingham was made a tool of by those who entertained the idea of establishing a free press in India. He was put forward as an instrument by those persons down to the latest period of his residence in India ; and as soon as the Government visited him with that punishment which it considered itself justified in inflicting on him, he was deserted by them all, by those very men, with the exception perhaps of one or two, who had called themselves his friends, and who, by encouraging him in the course he was pursuing, had led to his destruction."

(ii) "That Mr. Buckingham was imprudent with respect to various articles inserted in his paper, I have no hesitation in admitting ; but if I am called upon to say whether I think that any of these articles could be considered as tending to endanger the safety of India, I can lay my hand upon my heart, and declare, that I do not."

(iii) "Is it fair or proper that because a man has been warned nine times that he has fallen under the displeasure of the Government, he should on the tenth occasion be visited with such tremendous punishment as has been inflicted on Mr. Buckingham ? As well might it be said, that because a man has been convicted nine times of a misdemeanour, he should, on the tenth occasion, be punished as for a felony."

23. This is again a misrepresentation of facts. But even if it were true, that the Indian Government was grossly abused, were there no Courts in Calcutta to punish the offenders? And if so, what other punishment than the law would inflict could be necessary? Mr. Buckingham did not put the safety of India in jeopardy by anything he ever wrote, more especially the laughing at a Presbyterian parson being made a stationer's clerk! What had the safety of India to do with this?

24. All this is unconvincing, of course.

The Hon. Leicester Stanhope who spoke next supported the motion with equal vehemence. His arguments were as follows:—

(i) “Among the hundred shareholders of the Calcutta Journal were some of the most eminent men in British India.”

(ii) “I esteem Mr. Buckingham much, because I know him well; I know him to be a moral man, a religious man, a good father, a good husband, a firm friend, and a loyal citizen. Further, I will venture to say, that with the exception of Edmund Burke, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Hastings, and the great historian of British India, Mr. Mill, no man has conferred greater benefits on the people of India, or has done more honour to the Government, than this said persecuted Buckingham.”²⁵

(iii) “The extra-judicial measures did not satisfy the angry spirit of the Indian Government. They determined to have recourse to that “*wild justice*”, as Lord Bacon has denominated it, “*revenge*”. By the conduct of Lord Amherst the paper was ruined; and the consequence was, that a property, which had cost Mr. Buckingham £20,000 in gold, and from which he received £8,000 a year, was actually sold for £1,500; and over and above the £4,000 which Mr. Buckingham left in his banker’s hands at Calcutta, he has since been called upon to pay £5,000 more on account of an expenditure incurred in consequence of the vacillating conduct of Lord Amherst; making Mr. Buckingham’s total loss £39,000. I agree with Mr. Buckingham that it would have been better for him when he left Calcutta to have set fire to his premises, and consumed the whole concern.”

Mr. R. Jackson rose to oppose the motion, and said, among other things:—

(i) “My hon. Friend’s speech was characterized by no small degree of asperity, in so far as it alluded to the Government of Bengal.”

(ii) “Lord Amherst may have been right or wrong on this point—with that I have nothing to do. All I wish to establish is, that Lord Amherst objected only to Mr. Buckingham’s retaining a governing influence over the paper and not to his being a proprietor.”²⁶

25. This is obviously an exaggeration, yet it has an element of truth, for he did fight for the freedom of the Indian Press.

26. This is not quite correct, for the licence to set up a paper was not given to Dr. Muston until he had declared that it was *bona fide* his property, i.e., Mr. Buckingham had no interest in it. It would be strange, if the Government could entertain any apprehension of the paper being controlled by Mr. Buckingham from a distance of several thousand miles from Calcutta.

The second signatory to the requisition, Mr. Hume, thereupon supported the motion on the following grounds:—"I deny that Mr. Buckingham ever opposed the Government: he only endeavoured to expose the abuses which existed under the Government. Can it be the wish of any man who hears me that the sentence of banishment to which Mr. Buckingham was subjected should be followed up by the confiscation of the whole of his property? The destruction of his property²⁷ is an additional punishment, inflicted on him in the nature of a fine."²⁸

The motion was opposed by Sir John Sewell who spoke next. His arguments were, as follows:—

(i) "I cannot discover that there has been anything like confiscation. The word appears the more extraordinary, because Mr. Buckingham's friends admit²⁹ that the Government acted legally³⁰ in sending him from India, as a man whose conduct had rendered him unfit longer to reside in that country."

(ii) "But what was the use of sending the body of the man away, if they allowed the paper to be conducted with his mind and spirit?"³¹

(iii) "I take it that the value of the paper arose from that very cause, which made it appear bad in the eyes of the Indian Government, namely, the improper mode in which it was conducted."³²

Dr. Gilchrist quoted a few lines from Oriental poetry to stress the dangers of an unmitigated despotism in India. "I will not give you too much of the original lest it should perplex you," he said, "but I must give you four or five verses of it, if it be only to inure you to the sound of the language of your subjects."

27. This was modestly valued at £30,000.

28. When he was ordered home, he could have sold his share in the concern, but he did not do so in the hope of deriving an annual profit of about £4,000.

29. Mr. Buckingham's friends in fact never admitted this.

30. In a previous meeting of the Court of Proprietors in July, 1823, the legality of Mr. Buckingham's deportation had been fully debated. In that meeting, a number of Proprietors had maintained that Mr. Buckingham's deportation was illegal. The Court had, however, adopted a different view of the question. Referring to this decision, Mr. Hume stated in the course of his speech, "On the present occasion, I bow to that decision, however I may regret it."

31. This is a funny argument, indeed. How could Mr. Buckingham give his mind to the paper after his body was removed to England?

32. This is again unconvincing, and is no justification for the loss which Mr. Buckingham had to suffer.

The following lines were then repeated by the Hon. Proprietor :

*Khurabee zi be dad beenud juhan
 Choo boostani khoorum zi badi khizan
 Mudih rookhsuti zoolm dur hech hal
 Ki khoors hurdi moolkut nu yabud kumal
 Mukoon bur zueefani be charu zor
 Beendesh akhir zi tungee egor !
 Muhoon murdoom azaree ue toond rae
 Ki naguh rusud bur to ghuri khoodall.*

This he translated thus :—

" As storms destroy bright autumn's cheerful robe,
 So foul injustice desolates the globe ;
 Such ruthless kings as by oppression reign,
 Their empire's crescents prematurely wane.
 Crush not the man, whose hopes on you depend,
 Ah, think betimes how—where such deeds must end ;
 Nor goad the wretched on to fell despair,
 Slight not their sighs as passing breaths of air,
 Lest these collected may your prospects blast,
 And whelm your thrones with thundering storms at last."

After a few more speeches which covered no new ground, Mr. Douglas Kinnaird, the mover of the original proposition before the house, was permitted to reply to the arguments of his opponents. His reply which was as impressive as his original speech was based on the following points : " I have met with no contradiction to the statement which I made regarding Mr. Buckingham's character. No one has stated that Mr. Buckingham has merited, by his conduct, the sufferings he has endured. The property of Mr. Buckingham was unnecessarily sacrificed either by the fears or jealousy of the Bengal Government. There was, at least, error in the conduct of the Bengal Government in seeking to disqualify Mr. Buckingham, as they did, from disposing of his property to the best advantage in Calcutta." He summed up his remarks by appealing to the court's justice and mercy. He said, " If ever there was a case in which you can display your humanity and mercy with honour to yourselves, and benefit to all who are connected with you, it is the present case. If you will not grant to Mr. Buckingham that remuneration which is asked of you as a debt of justice, grant it to him as a tribute to talent and to misfortune. The amount is to you trifling, to him of paramount importance."

The original motion of Mr. Douglas Kinnaird was then put and negatived; only twelve hands were raised in support of it.

Mr. Jackson's amendment³³ was also negative; fourteen hands only having been held up in support of it.

* * * * *

That the decision of the Court of Proprietors was unfair needs no elaboration. The highhandedness of the Bengal Government is apparent, and even a superficial examination of the case of Mr. Buckingham would serve to show that the punishment which was meted out to him was as harsh as it was vindictive.

The vendetta of the Bengal Government against Mr. Buckingham started like this. Dr. Bryce, a chaplain of the Scottish Church, in a series of letters signed "A Friend to Mr. Bankes," held up Mr. Buckingham to odium, as undeserving the countenance of a man of integrity, and invited the Bengal Government to banish from their dominions one so tainted with the crime of literary theft. For his unusual zeal in thus discrediting the popular advocate of a free press in India, Dr. Bryce was rewarded with a place as clerk of stationery. Mr. Buckingham who had been defamed by this chaplain returned his bitterness with ridicule, and laughed at the Chaplain in his new capacity of paper, pounce, and pasteboard purveyor. It was for this ostensibly, and for this alone, that Mr. Buckingham was expelled from India. The accusations of this over-zealous priest, which led to Mr. Buckingham's deportation, were as false as they were malicious. The appointment of Dr. Bryce was so palpably unwarranted that eventually the Court of Directors cancelled it peremptorily.

The first stage in the case was the prosecution of Mr. Buckingham by the six Secretaries of the Government, and his acquittal by a jury. And what was the nature of this jury? Two-thirds of the jury were directly or indirectly connected with the Government; notwithstanding this, Mr. Buckingham was acquitted. When the authorities found that Mr. Buckingham was innocent in the eye of the law, they decided to have recourse to extra-judicial measures, and eventually expelled him from India. It is noteworthy that although Mr. Buckingham was banished for having commented in a humorous manner, on the appointment of

33. In the course of his speech mentioned above, Mr. R. Jackson had proposed the following amendment. "That the Court of Proprietors request the Court of Directors to take into consideration the losses sustained by Mr. Buckingham since his departure from India; and the Court of Proprietors beg leave to assure them, that if they find Mr. Buckingham's situation such as to induce their sympathy and pecuniary aid, they will meet with the cordial support of this Court." This amendment was based on the assumption that the original motion was too comprehensive!

Dr. Bryce, the Company disapproved of the conduct of the Bengal Government in having made the appointment, and that the Scottish clergy also, generally, disapproved of the appointment. It is also to be borne in mind that before Mr. Buckingham was banished from India there were no regulations for the press that had the force of law, and that they were only enacted after Mr. Buckingham was sent away. If they existed, and had the force of law before, their re-enaction was meaningless. If they did not exist (which their subsequent enactment shows) then Mr. Buckingham was punished for offending against a supposed law, which had no legal entity.

Furthermore the ruin of Mr. Buckingham's property did not arise actually from his deportation itself. It was due to official vindictiveness towards him long after his expulsion. On leaving India, instead of immediately selling his property, he left it behind him, believing it to be safe. It cannot be denied that he could have realised at least £20,000 by the sale of his establishment while leaving India. But, subsequently, the Bengal Government did not allow a fair sale of his property in the open market. The consequence was the utter ruin of the property in question. The capriciousness of Lord Amherst's government is particularly glaring. On the remonstrance of the share-holders of the 'Calcutta Journal' that because one person had offended, a hundred should not suffer, Lord Amherst at first agreed that the paper should be published. Then, he would not allow it to be published, unless it was edited by a Company's servant; then he would not allow it to be published under the title of the 'Calcutta Journal'; then he would allow it to be published under the name, the 'British Lion'; then he would not allow it to be called the 'British Lion', then he would not allow it to be published so long as Mr. Buckingham and the hundred share-holders had any interest in the concern; at last he did allow it to be published under the title of the "Scotsman in the East" under a strict censorship. By this conduct of the Bengal Government, which was as arbitrary as it was tyrannical, the 'Calcutta Journal' was ruined.

Mr. Buckingham's conduct as editor of the 'Calcutta Journal' was certainly not entirely satisfactory. That he was at times imprudent with respect to various articles published in his paper is true. That he himself sometimes criticised the Government's measures rather severely is also true. That he appeared on some occasions to have set the Government at defiance is also undeniable. But, it should be remembered that there were no regulations for the conduct of the press, and that the rules which Mr. Buckingham was considered by the official censors to have violated had

never been formally announced to the press. Thus, what appeared to some perfectly harmless, might not be regarded in that light by others. Under such circumstances, Mr. Buckingham might quite unknowingly, give cause for offence. But to hold that his writings endangered the safety of the Indian Empire is quite meaningless. For one thing, the state of British India was never so tranquil as while Mr. Buckingham's paper existed. And, if his paper criticised some of the glaring injustices of the Government, he could not be regarded as an enemy of the Government. But, the real fact is that the Bengal Government disliked a free expression of opinion adverse to itself and sought to suppress it with a high hand. So far as the case of Mr. Buckingham was concerned, the question was not whether a free press was to be permitted in India, but whether, in checking a certain license of expression assumed by the 'Calcutta Journal', a most unwarranted and needless loss was not inflicted on Mr. Buckingham, and on a hundred innocent shareholders of the paper. The banishment of Mr. Buckingham and his successor, Mr. Arnot, was sufficient or rather drastic punishment for their supposed offences. The total stoppage of the paper, when the revival of the censorship could easily have obviated a recurrence of the offences, was a vindictive and malicious measure of which there was no justification.

The sufferings of Mr. Buckingham evoked almost universal sympathy in England, and the supporters of free discussion took up his cause in right earnest. Mr. Buckingham came to be looked upon as a noble martyr, and he was warmly supported in his bold stand against oppression. The matter finally came before Parliament, and, as has already been stated at the outset, the Company was obliged to grant him an annuity by way of reparation for his losses. The case of Mr. Buckingham was, in short, a historic interlude in the struggle for a free press in India, which deserves much greater attention than it has so far received from the historians.

Annals of Old Madras

BY

K. NARASIMHACHARI, M.A.

THE BRAMINY (Continued)

In the earlier stages of Nature—religion, people swore by the head of a bear as in Siberia and on the head or skin of a tiger as among the Santals and other indigenous tribes of India. The prevalence of river-worship is seen in the extent to which in the old and modern world oaths by rivers are most sacred. In the earlier ages man swore inviolably by the Styx or Tiber and to this day an oath on the water of the Ganges is to the Hindu the most binding of pledges and has as such been recommended in recent years to be substituted in the place of the present oaths administered in Courts.

In 1750 a curious book was published at Halle. It consisted of a series of dialogues bearing on the mode of life of Europeans and Natives at Madras. It was originally written in Telugu for the Danish Mission and subsequently translated into both German and English. The sixth and twentieth dialogue therein relates to a suit at Law in the Maiors Court between a Demandant and his Debtor. Rangappa, the complainant, states that his father lent money to the Defendant Arumugam. Rangappa, whose father is now dead, holds the receipt, which Arumugam repudiates as forgery denying the debt. After much prevarication by the Principals and their witnesses the Judge orders Arumugam to take the oath. Arumugam breaks down at the word "cows" and acknowledges the debt.

The form of the oath was as follows :—

Almighty God in Heaven, if I have taken Money upon Usury of Rangappan's Father's Hands and do now deny this, thou wilt certainly kill all my cows, cut them in little slices and make me and my wife and children to eat them without salt or any other spices till we die.

In 1774 the Hindu witnesses in Calcutta objected to swear even by the Ganga Jul (water of the Ganges). The objections are couched in the witnesses' own language :

If I put my hand into the Ganga Jul, I put my hand into the fire of Hell ; or

Should I happen to say one word which is not true I shall be tormented during an hundred transmigrations ; or

I shall sink my ancestors into places of torment ; or

This is a very solemn mode of swearing.

When the Recorder's Court was established at Madras in 1798 the Braminy continued on the establishment of that Court under the same designation, and with the same salary and functions. This Court was superseded by the Supreme Court established in 1801. The Braminy continued in that Court as well. He administered the oath to the witness. After that the witness was to swallow sacred water and Toolsee leaf brought from the large temple in the Black Town—the Chennakesava Perumal Temple in China Bazaar Road, now Nethaji Subash Chandra Bose Road, George Town. Gradually the Braminy came to be connoted by his duties and the name of the functionary was imperceptibly changed into the Swearing Bramin. The salary continued to be one pagoda per mensem—but for a slight increase by 7 fanams. On the recommendation of Sir T. A. Strange, Chief Justice and Sir J. H. Newbolt, Puisne Judge (afterwards Chief Justice) the salary was increased to 3 Pags. per mensem in 1816.

The oaths to be taken before the Company's Courts—The Sudder and Foujdari Adawluts—were embodied in the Regulations. Sec. 7 of Reg. II of 1802 not only adopts the previous enactments but also lays down a declaration to be adopted by the Judge in the case of witnesses of rank or caste whom it would be improper to compel to take the oath :

Declaration to be subscribed by a Hindoo witness exempted from taking an oath :

I will true and perfect answer make to all such questions as shall be put to me touching the matter now before the Court betwixt the parties A and B which shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth ; if I declare anything not warranted by the truth or conceal any part thereof, I shall be deserving of punishment from Almighty God and if I break this declaration, I acknowledge myself to be as guilty as if I had killed a Bramin or slain a cow on the Banks of the Ganges at Causee (Benares).

Declaration to be signed by a Mahomedan witness exempted from taking an oath :

I solemnly affirm and declare in the presence of Almighty God that I will true and perfect answer make to all questions as shall be put to me touching the matter now before the Court betwixt the

parties A and B which shall be the Truth, the whole Truth and nothing but the Truth.

After the witness has given his deposition he is to subscribe the following declaration :

I solemnly declare in the presence of Almighty God that I have told the Truth, the whole Truth and nothing but the Truth touching the matter now before the Court betwixt the parties A and B.

In 1824 a Hindu witness in the Supreme Court at Calcutta refused to be sworn on the ground that he was the only son of his father.

In Reid vs. Mears on the file of the Supreme Court at Madras (a case of criminal conversation) Mr. Teed, Counsel for defendant, objected to a maty, a native witness, giving evidence on the ground that he did not know the nature of an oath. Questioned about it, the witness said that if he spoke an untruth he expected to be punished by the Court and perhaps flogged. Sir E. J. Gambier, the presiding Judge, formerly defence counsel for Tolpuddle Martyrs famous in the History of the Labour Movement in England, asked the witness if he knew to whom he appealed and who he expected would punish him. He answered "I appeal to God and the Court will punish me." Sir Edward Gamber remarked that it did not appear that he (the witness) feared divine vengeance. Witness was then asked whether he thought God would be pleased or displeased with him, if he spoke false, and whether he feared any displeasure from heaven. To which the witness replied "God is present; I will get evil, if I speak falsehood, but I don't know what evil God will send me." Mr. Teed objected that he was not a competent witness, but the court ruled that he was.

The Oaths Act of 1838 (I & II Vic. C. 105) further extended this branch of the Law. It provided that in all cases, in which an oath may lawfully be and shall have been administered to a witness in any proceeding, such person is bound by the oath administered in such form and with such ceremonies as such person may declare to be binding. Under this Act the Hindus were sworn on the Vedas or by touching the Brahman's foot, the Mahomedans on the Koran, the Parsees on the Zenda Avesta or by binding a holy cord round their body, the Buddhists by the Three Holy Existences, Buddha, Dhamma and Prosangha and The Devotees of the Twenty-two firmaments, and the Chinese by breaking a saucer into fragments after saying these words :

I tell the Truth, the whole Truth—if not, as that saucer is broken, may my soul be broken like it.

Sec. 1 of Act 1840 substituted an affirmation in lieu of the older forms of oath. It runs :

Whereas obstruction to justice and other inconveniences have arisen in consequence of persons of the Hindoo or Mahomedan persuasion being compelled to swear by the water of the Ganges or upon the Koran or according to other forms, which are repugnant to their consciences or feelings :

1. It is hereby enacted that, except as hereinafter provided, instead of any oath or declaration, now authorized or required by law, every individual of the classes aforesaid within the Territories of the East India Company shall make affirmation to the following effect :—

I solemnly affirm in the presence of Almighty God that what I shall state shall be the Truth, the whole Truth and nothing but the Truth.

When the present High Court was established under the Letters patent issued in 1862 amalgamating the Supreme Court—The King's Court—and The Sudder and Foujdaree Adawlut—The Company's Courts—there was an attempt at consolidation of the law relating to this branch. Sec. 9 of Act XVIII of 1863 modified Sec. 4 of Act V of 1840 and extended the application of that Act to Her Majesty's Courts of Justice and added the following to Clause 1 of that Act :

And when verifying an Affidavit a solemn affirmation shall be made to the following effect:

I solemnly affirm in the presence of Almighty God that the signature to this is my name and handwriting and that the contents of this affidavit are true.

It was Dickens, who described the Commissioner of Oaths as the man in spectacles hard at work swearing affidavits produced by a number of clerks, the oath being invariably administered without any effort at punctuation and usually in the following terms :

Take the book in your right hand this is your name and hand writing You swear the contents of this your affidavit are true so help you God a shilling you must get change I haven't got it.

The author had apparently in mind the times when the Commissioner for oaths was paid by fees collected from the parties to the action by him direct. And that was no inconsiderable sum. The perfunctory manner in which the oath is administered and the abridged form adopted in many of our courts has been the subject of adverse comment in The Madras Mail 1934.

Act VI of 1872 introduced two further important changes. One was that every witness who had an objection to take the oath might make a simple affirmation. The other was that notwithstanding any irregularity in the taking of an oath or affirmation or of evidence, the proceedings should be valid.

Sec. 6 of Act X of 1873 extended the substitution of the solemn affirmation instead of the oath in the case of witnesses, other than Hindus and Mahomedans, who had an objection to take the oath. Sec. 7 enjoins that all oaths and affirmations shall be administered according to such forms as the High Court may from time to time prescribe. They are found in the rules made by our High Court both on its Appellate and Original Side and also in the Civil Rules of Practice.

In 1933 there was some difficulty over the oath to be taken by a Hindu prosecutor at the Brighton Police Court. A beach Inspector pressed into the role of an interpreter explained that Hindus swear facing the Ganges and with hands up-raised. As apparently no one present knew towards which point of the compass he should turn, the prosecutor finally promised "to tell no lies while facing the Ganges."

On one occasion a Chinese witness at the Liverpool County Court having concluded his national oath in due form with these words : " And if I do not speak the truth, may my soul be dashed into a thousand pieces even as this saucer," hurled the saucer to the ground. However it, being of over-substantial manufacture, rebounded intact. Twice more it was dashed down and still it remained whole until at last the witness had to kneel down and hammer it heavily on the floor.

Odd things sometimes happen over these picturesque ceremonies.

Gradually there has developed a tendency both in England and India too often to regard the taking of an oath as a mere form. The late Lord Phillimore, while a judge of the King's Bench Division, had occasion to protest more than once with some vehemence sternly rebuking those present who continued to carry on conversation while the oath was being taken by a witness. In how many instance has this not been true even of our own Courts? Apart from this, the witnesses themselves have receded farther away from the realisation of consciousness of the presence of Almighty God witnessing every one of their actions and though the words "in the presence of Almighty God" form part and parcel of the oath or affirmation taken by them still little attention is paid to them. Perhaps the

mental attitude of the average witness is best illustrated in the engagingly sophisticated answer of a little girl in a court, who was being examined on her knowledge of the nature of an oath :

What will happen to you if you tell a lie in your evidence ?

She replied " I suppose, Sir, I couldn't get my expenses."

An oath is an asseveration or promise made considering God to be present. Writers viewing the subject among civilised nations only have sometimes defined it as an appeal to a deity. " By the term oath ", says Bentham in his Jurisprudence, " taken in its broadest sense, is universally understood a ceremony composed of words and gestures, by which the Almighty is engaged eventually to inflict on the taker of the oath, or swearer as he is called, punishment in quantity and quality, liquidated or more commonly unliquidated, in the event of his doing something which he, the swearer, at the same time and thereby engages not to do or omitting to do something which he in like manner engages to do." In effect the Lord God is called to witness in an effort to make the human beings keep to the straight and narrow path of truth-speaking and promise-keeping. It is often wondered whether the presence of God need be invoked at all when most of the witnesses now-a-days do not care for God or for such oaths and whether, in view of the provision made for perjury in Indian Penal Code, the ceremony of calling on the Lord God cannot be dispensed with. This indeed is a question too difficult to be answered when it is borne in mind that even the framers of the present constitution of the Indian Union have made a provision for invoking the name of God for those who believe in Him in contradistinction to those for whom their own conscience is enough. To this day oaths and solemn affirmations are regarded by the law as guarantees against perjury and as a means of securing ascertainment of truth.

Note on Talagunda Inscription ‘of Kakusthavarman’

BY

G. S. GAI,

Ootacamund

This famous inscription, engraved as it is on a pillar, is a veritable pillar on which rest the origin and growth of the early kings of the Kadamba dynasty—handed down to us. But to which king does this record belong? Kielhorn, who has published the inscription in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica*,¹ has given the nomenclature to his paper ‘Talagunda Inscription of Kakusthavarman’² and this title, no doubt, suggests that it belongs to the *reign* or *time* of Kākusthavarman. That this was Kielhorn’s view is indicated also by the following: His translation of the third verse, in praise of Kākusthavarman, ‘And next (*victorious is*)³ Kākusthavarman, whose form *is*² like that of the lord of the gods (*and*) whose intelligence *is*² vast; the king who *is*² the moon in the firmament of the great lineage of the Kadamba leaders of armies’. In verse 33 we have ‘... that king Kākusthavarman *has*² caused to be made this great tank ...’. In the introductory portion he remarks ‘The occasion is taken by the poet to celebrate the origin and advancement of the Kadamba family to which Kākusthavarman belonged, and to give the names of his ancestors’. But we may also note the translation of the verses, 27, 30 and 32: ‘His brother *was*² Bhagiratha’s son Kākustha...; and in his house, ... the lady Fortune delighted to stay steadfast, for very long’, etc. According to Sewell this inscription belongs to the reign of Kākusthavarman.⁴ Rapson has also ascribed the record to Kākusthavarman.⁵

Bühler, who was the first scholar to publish a preliminary notice of this inscription⁶ says “The best preserved among the three documents⁷ is a long metrical Sanskrit Praśasti or Eulogy on the

1. Vol., VIII, pp. 24-36.

2. *Italics ours.*

3. *Thick type ours.*

4. *Hist. Inscr. S. Ind.*, p. 18.

5. *Coins of the Andhra Dynasties, etc.*, p. lv.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol., XXV, p. 27.

7. Refers to the discoveries of Rice.

excavation of a tank near an ancient Śaiva temple at Sthāna-Kundūra, begun by the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman, and completed in the reign of his son Śāntivarman.... and Kākustha's successor was his son Śāntivarman, during whose reign Kubja composed his poem....". From this it is clear that Bühler was of the opinion that the inscription belonged to the reign of Śāntivarman and not to that of his father Kākusthavarman. His statement that the excavation of the tank was begun by Kākusthavarman and completed in the reign of his son is not supported by the text. For, the record explicitly states that Kākusthavarman completed his task (*kārayāmāsa*) and does not give any indication that the work was left unfinished to be completed by his son Śāntivarman. Fleet also was of the opinion that the record belonged to the reign of Śāntivarman.⁸ And Rice, to whom goes the credit of discovering this important inscription and who edited it earlier than Kielhorn, ascribes it to Śāntivarman's reign.⁹ Thus we see scholars holding different views on the point. Of recent writers, Messrs. N. Lakshminarayan Rao and R. S. Panchamukhi, in their Kannada article on the early Kadambas,¹⁰ hold that the Tālagunda record belongs to the reign of Kākusthavarman. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri writes : "This king¹¹ made a large fresh water tank within the precincts of the celebrated Śiva temple at Talagunda, and the fact was recorded on a pillar by his son and successor Śāntivarman ..." ¹² Dr. M. H. Krishna calls it a record of Śāntivarman.¹³ Dr. D. C. Sircar has drawn, perhaps for the first time, pointed attention to this question and he has tried to show that king Kākusthavarman was *dead*¹⁴ at the time when the inscription was engraved.¹⁵

Coming to the record itself, we find that the first verse is in praise of Sthānu (*i.e.* god Śiva), the second one, of the gods on earth (*i.e.* Brāhmaṇas) and the third verse praises Kākusthavarman. The poet then proceeds to describe the origin and advancement of the family to which Kākusthavarman belonged. It is natural to expect, immediately after the name of Kākusthavarman, if not in his place, a verse in praise of Śāntivarman if he were the ruling monarch at the time. But we do not have it. Again, an examination of the inscription would show that Śāntivarman does

8. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 286.

9. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 176, pp. 200 ff.

10. *Prabuddha-Karnātaka*, Vol., XX, No. 1, pp. 121, 134; No. 2, p. 105.

11. *i.e.* Kākusthavarman.

12. *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 240.

13. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1936, p. 75.

14. *Italics ours.*

15. *Successors of the Satavahanas*, pp. 257-58.

not find a place in the proper genealogical account. In fact, he is referred to at the very end of the inscription in connection with issuing orders to the poet Kubja to compose and put the record on stone. The inscription is plainly a *praśasti* on the qualities and deeds of Kākusthavarman—who contracted matrimonial alliances with the Gupta and other kings by giving his daughters in marriage¹⁶ and under whom the Kadamba kingdom was happy and prosperous. In contrast with this, nothing is said by the poet Kubja about the reign of Śāntivarman. We must also note that the immediate object of the record is to notify the construction of the tank by Kākusthavarman.

These facts lead one to believe that the Tālagunda inscription belongs to the reign of Kākusthavarman and that his son might have issued the orders for recording the facts on the stone, as a governor during the reign of his father. But, we must admit, there are difficulties, and genuine too, for accepting this view. Śāntivarman is called *nṛipati* or ‘king’ and is described as wearing three crowns—*pāṭṭatray-ārpana-virājita-chāru-mūrttiḥ*. These ruling titles, and the passages, as pointed out by Dr. Sircar,¹⁷ *gṛihēshu yasya Lakshmy-aṅganā dhrītimati suchiram cha rēmē, yam . . . sāmanta-chūḍāmaṇayah pranēmuḥ*,¹⁸ applied to Kākusthavarman may show that Kākusthavarman was not actually ruling at the time. We may, therefore, suppose that, after the benevolent act of building the tank at Tālagunda, Kākusthavarman did not continue his rule for long, but seems to have handed over the reins of government to his son Śāntivarman. And the latter undertook to record his father’s work, as if Kākusthavarman himself would do it, only adding his name at the end in connection with giving instructions to inscribe the facts. This state of affairs would satisfactorily explain the wording of the text of the inscription. Therefore, it appears that Kākusthavarman was not dead at the time of

16. Verse 31.

17. *Suc. Sat.*, pp. 257-58. Dr. Sircar takes *sāsana* in = *vara-sāsanasthah* in the sense of ‘rule’ and observes that the record speaks of the *rule* of Śāntivarman. But Kielhorn is quite correct in interpreting *nṛipatēr* = *vvara-sāsanasthah* which qualifies the following word *Kubjak*, as ‘Abiding by the excellent commands of....’. There is, therefore, no question of any reference to the ‘rule’ of Śāntivarman as supposed by Dr. Sircar. Bühler’s interpretation (*op. cit.*) —‘while residing in an excellent village (*vara-sāsana*) granted by that king’ may also be noted.

18. Cf. also *tam* = *bhūpāḥ* = *khalu mēnirē* and *bāndhavāḥ* = *s-ānuban-dhāḥ* (*nirvṛitīm*) *prāpuh* in verses 28 and 29. It must, however, be said that in several records even the reigning king is described in a similar way.

the record, but alive,¹⁹ though not actually ruling, while his son Śāntivarman issues the orders, as if in the presence of his old father, to compose and inscribe the record. If this reading of the situation is accepted, then the proper title of the record would be : 'TALAGUNDA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KĀKUSTHĀVARMAN AND ŚĀNTIVARMAN'.

Before concluding, we may offer a few remarks on the name of the poet and scribe, Kubja. Though we do not get any glimpse into the physical features of this person, the name, no doubt, sounds rather strange. A similar one we get in the person of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana, younger brother of the Western Chālukya emperor Pulikēśin II, who started the line of the Eastern Chālukyas under the aegis of his elder brother. The word *kubja* literally means 'hump-backed' and it is very unlikely that important personages of the court would call themselves by such an awkward name. But the name is significant if we read it in the light of the verse—

*pañchām-parē Vāmanakō Jaghanyah Kubjō = thavā Man-
ḍalakō = tha Sāchī |
pūrv=ōkta-bhūp=ānucharā bhavanti saṅkirṇa-sañjñah śrīnu
lakṣhaṇais=tān ||*

given by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*.²⁰ This shows that Kubja, like Vāmanaka,²¹ is an attendant or one in the service of the royal person of the king himself. There is, therefore, nothing abnormal in Śāntivarman's court-poet assuming the name of Kubja.²²

19. Does the phrase = *ath = āsana-stham* (even) 'while sitting quiet', indicate anything in this direction?

20. Ch. 68, verse 31 (Benares edition, 1897).

21. For the explanation of the Vāmana attendant on Gupta coins, see, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. VI, p. 31.

22. The word *kubja* in Kubja-Vishnuvardhana, referred to above, may be explained in a similar way.

Libraries in Ancient India

BY

BERNARD ANDERSON

Various theories have been advanced about the origin of the art of writing in India. Some scholars are of opinion that this art was introduced into India from the West, and they ascribe to it, some a Greek origin, other a Semitic origin, and still others a Phoenician origin, holding that the Phoenicians during the course of their trade relations with the Panis of Western India introduced the alphabet into this country. Others maintain that it is an indigenous art. The excavations at Mohenjo Daro, Chanhu Daro and other Indus Valley sites have brought to light numerous seals with pictographic inscriptions on them, and scholars are now more definite than ever that the art of writing was known in India from very early times. Nay, it may be stated that the Mohenjo Daro pictographs were the parent script and the origin of Sumerian script.¹

But although the people of ancient India were acquainted with this fine art, and though they possessed a rich and abundant literature, yet many years elapsed before the literary genius of the country found expression in the form of books. The original purpose for which writing was used in India seems to have been for commercial use, for private and official correspondence, also for recording royal proclamations, for legal transactions, for religious donations to temples and monasteries, and finally for inscribing short religious formulas. Moreover the education of the youth of the country was mainly oral. Knowledge was preserved solely on the memory tablets of the human mind. Very great importance was attached to the Vedas being kept intact. The Veda was to be recited not only with proper modulation of the voice to convey the accents, but the accents were indicated also by the movements of the fingers. All these intricate ritual could only be acquired by oral instruction which offered an adequate guarantee for the preservation of the sacred texts. At first so much store was set by oral instruction that the *Pāṇinīyaśikṣā*² condemns one who imbibes

1. *Vide Heras, "The Origin of Sumerian Writing", Journal of the University of Bombay, VII, Part I, pp. 3-28; Hall, The Ancient History of the Near East, p. 174.*

2. v. 32.

knowledge from a manuscript as among the worst of learners. Vrddha-Gautama condemns to hell those who sell the Vedas, who condemn the Vedas and those who write them down.³ Besides, there was the want of suitable material for writing. It is evident that under these circumstances there could not have been an abundance of written literature to warrant the existence of large libraries to compare favourably with the magnificent libraries of the Assyrian king Assur-bani-pal or of the Ptolemies of Egypt, or of the Phoenicians of Ras Shamra.

But we should not hastily conclude that there was an absolute dearth of written literature at that time. Kautilya speaking about the qualifications of a writer says : "One who is possessed of ministerial qualifications, acquainted with all kinds of customs, smart in composition, good in legible writing, and sharp in reading shall be appointed as a writer (*lekhaka*).⁴ He also lays down rules for writing a book and Royal writs. Vātsyāyana speaking about the accomplishments of a gentleman says : "There are concerts to be attended, ballets and theatrical spectacles to be visited, he had a lute besides so that he may make music when he will, and a book to read at leisure".⁵ These remarks of Vātsyāyana and Kautilya do but corroborate our statement above. Moreover, the Chinese scholars Fa-Hian, Hieun-Tsiang and I-Tsing found enough manuscripts and books to carry home with them when they came to India, i.e., between the 4th century A.D. and 7th century A.D. Fa-Hian, the first Chinese scholar to visit India in search of Buddhist literature, found many manuscripts in the Mahāyāna monastery in Central India (Patna). In consequence of this success, he stayed there for three years, learning Sanskrit books and Sanskrit speech and writing out the Vinaya rules.⁶ Hiuen-Tsiang returned to China from his Indian travels with one hundred and twenty-four works (sutras) of the Great Vehicle and other works, amounting on the whole to 520 fasciculi.⁷ I-Tsing studied at Nālandā for a considerable time and collected some 400 Sanskrit texts, amounting to 5,00,000 slokas.⁸ Speaking about the arranging of the affairs of deceased Bhikshus, I-tsing informs us that the scriptures and their commentaries belonging to the deceased Bikshu had to be kept in a library to be read by the members of the Order, while

3. Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, II, Part I, p. 349.

4. *Arthashastra*, Translated by Shamsastry, Mysore, 1929, p. 71.

5. *Kamasutra*, Adhikarana I, Adhyaya 4.

6. Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, pp. 98-99.

7. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. XX.

8. I-Tsing, *A Record of Buddhist Religion*, p. XVII.

non-Buddhistic works were sold and the money acquired was distributed among the priests then resident.⁹ Here is sufficient evidence to deduce that the reproduction of manuscripts and the creation of libraries can be traced back a few centuries before the Christian era. Besides, there can be no reasonable ground for doubting the correctness of the ancient tradition preserved in the well-known verse of the Ceylon Chronicles, which, when speaking of the time of Vatta Gāmani who began to reign in 88 B.C. says :

The text of the Three Pitakas, and the Commentary too
thereon,
The wise Bhikkus, perceiving how all beings do decay,
Meeting together, wrote them in books, that the Dhamma
might last long '¹⁰

Though the fact of the existence of written literature since very early times stands proved, yet the working of the institution of libraries seems to take place only simultaneously with the emergence of the educational institutions and university centres. The famous Buddhist centre of education, the University of Nālandā, maintained a splendid library for the benefit of the hundreds of teachers and thousands of students who flocked to its portals, there to study the various sciences. The copying of manuscripts was one of the chief activities of the students of the University.¹¹ The library quarter of this University was known as Dharmagañja, "Piety Mart". It was located in three splendid buildings called Ratnasagara, Ratnodaya and Ratnarañjaka. In the Ratnodaya, which was a nine storeyed building, there were the sacred scripts called *Prajñā-pāramita-sūtra*, and Tantrik works such as *Samāja-guhya*, etc.¹²

The declining period of the University of Nālandā coincides with the erection of two other famous educational institutions one at Odantapuri (Bihar) by a certain Gopala who is said to have ascended the throne of Bengal about 730 A.D.,^{12a} and the other, the Royal University of Vikramisila, founded by king Dharmapala in the 8th century A.D. Both these institutions possessed rich and extensive libraries which excited the admiration of foreign invaders: "Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, by the force of his intrepidity, threw

9. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

10. *Dīpavamsa*, XX, 20, 21.

11. Sankalia, *The University of Nalanda*, p. 147.

12. Vidyabhusana, *A History of Indian Logic*, p. 516.

12a. Or 765-769?—Ed., J.I.H.

himself into the postern of the gateway of the place, and they captured the fortress, and acquired great booty.... There were a great number of books there, and when all these books came under the observation of the Musalmans, they summoned a number of Hindus that they might give them information respecting the import of those books.... On being acquainted (with the contents of those books), it was found that the whole of that fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindu tongue, they call a college Bihar (Vihār).¹³ Another famous centre of education was Valabhi, Kathiawar, of which I-Tsing gives us an account. Like Nalanda, Valabhi also attracted students from far and near and also maintained a library, as proved by a grant of one of the Maitraka kings, Guhasena I, which makes provision, among other things, for the purchase of books for this institution.¹⁴

There were, besides, several small libraries attached to temples all over the country. The Bhaviśyapurāṇa states that books may be placed in a *māṭha* for the use of all people and that he who arranges for the reading of books in the temples of Siva, Viṣṇu or the Sun reaps the merit of the gifts of cows, land and gold.¹⁵ In ancient India the temple served the dual purpose of a place of worship and a centre of learning, and it is in fact from such temple schools that great centres of education have sprung up. Even the Nalanda University had a similar origin.

State and private libraries also existed. We are told that the poet Bana kept a reader for his own private purpose, and hence we may surmise that he possessed a library of his own.¹⁶ Hiuen Tsiang informs us that King Kanishka had the sacred writings of the Buddhists engraved on red copper-plates.¹⁷

For the maintenance of the libraries attached to educational institutions, monasteries and temples, the authorities relied on the generosity of the Kings, Princes and other nobles of the country and their appeals did not fall on deaf ears, for these persons actuated by the sayings from the Smṛtis and Purāṇas which recommended the donations of books, donated generously. One of the purposes for which Avighakara, a merchant from Bengal, made a grant to the Kanheri Monastery in Western India was the purchase of

13. *Tabakat-I-Nasiri*, I, p. 552. Translated by Raverty.

14. *Indian Antiquary*, VII, p. 67 ff.

15. Cfr. Kane, *op. cit.*, II, pt. II, p. 883.

16. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, I, pp. 39-40.

17. Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 156.

books.¹⁸ A fragmentary grant of Guhasena I, dated 559 A.D. makes provision, *inter alia*, for the "acquisition of books of the holy faith (*Saddharmasya pustakopacayartham.....*)"¹⁹ Balaputradeva, a king of Java and Sumatra, being attracted by the fame of the University of Nālāndā built a monastery there and induced his friend and ally King Devapala of Bengal to grant five villages for the upkeep of his monastery. Part of this endowment was reserved for the purpose of copying books for the University Library.²⁰

From the above short account it is evident that, although literature and learning and the art of writing are of very great antiquity, at least at present, we have no definite data to assert that organized libraries were a special feature of the country from very early times. The only best organized libraries we had before the Muslim period were those connected with the ancient universities.

18. *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, p. 134.

19. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 67.

20. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, p. 311.

Mauryan and Pre-Mauryan Chronology According to the Purāṇas

BY

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The chronology of the period that followed the birth of Gautama Buddha has been engaging the attention of scholars for a pretty long time. The identification of Sandracottus with Chandragupta by Sir William Jones was the first step in the direction of solving this problem. The study of the Purāṇas and the Buddhist works of India and Ceylon has since added much to our knowledge, but the diversity and contradictory nature of these sources has been a stumbling block in the way of arriving at definite conclusions. It is therefore, reasonable to determine first the relative value of these sources.

The Buddhists, as also the Jains, were naturally most interested in events which had a bearing on the spread of their faith, and the dates which they assign to these events may naturally be trusted, unless we find any real arguments against any one of them. These dates are given in terms of the years of the passing away of their prophets. We may therefore pause to consider the probable dates of the passing away of Buddha and Mahāvīra.

"There is now a general agreement among scholars that Buddha died within a few years of 480 B.C."¹ If so, there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the Cantonese dated record, according to which Buddha died in 486 B.C. The traditional date of the death of Mahāvīra is 527 B.C., and it very well agrees with the evidence of the Buddhist Dīgha Nakāya and Majjhima Nikāya, according to which Mahāvīra died before Buddha.

When, however, we come to other things such as the list and reign-periods of the kings of Magadha, we find that the Buddhist accounts cannot claim any preference over the Purāṇas. So far as the list of kings that ruled in Magadha between the birth of Buddha and the rise of Chandragupta, is concerned, some scholars

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 156.

have shown excessive scepticism about the Purāṇas. But though the list is certainly not without mistakes, if we closely scrutinise the three authoritative Purāṇas, *viz.* the Vāyu, the Brahmānda and the Matsya, we find that the mistakes are not so numerous as we are apt to think. Thus it is said that the Purāṇas have regarded the Pradyotas of Avantī as belonging to Magadha. As a matter of fact they have neither called the Pradyotas as kings of Magadha nor shown any connection whatever between them and Magadha. What they have done is this. After giving the account of the Bārhadratha dynasty of Magadha, they proceed to give an account of the two most important dynasties of India that ruled contemporaneously and struggled for the suzerainty of India after the fall of the Bārhadrathas, *viz.* the Pradyotas of Avantī and the Bimbisāras of Magadha. They first deal with the Pradyotas whom they definitely associate with Avantī,² and while giving the cause of their fall they have to mention Śiśunāga and his son Kākavarṇa of Magadha who destroyed them. Then they deal with the dynasty of Bimbisāra, whose grandfather Kshemavarman (or Kshemadharman) was the first king of this dynasty. It must be remembered that Kshemavarman is in no way connected with Kākavarṇa by these three Purāṇas.³ It is only after the account of Kshemavarman's dynasty ends that we come across a mistake which is found in all the Purāṇas. Some editor, thinking that the eight kings of Kshemavarman's dynasty came after the two Śaiśunāgas, has connected them all as the ten kings of Śiśunaga's dynasty, and has further regarded Nanda also as a scion of this dynasty.⁴ Lest this mistake of the Purāṇas should lead us to prefer wholly the accounts of the late Buddhist chronicles of distant Ceylon, it must be mentioned that the latter are not certainly above suspicion.⁵ As a matter of fact, so far as the list of kings is concerned, whenever there is an independent evidence, it supports the Purāṇas and not the Ceylonese chronicles. To explain this we may divide Bimbisāra and his descendants into two groups, the first headed by Bimbisāra and

2. Brīhadratheshv atīteshu Vitihotreshv Avantishu

Pulakah svāminam hatvā svaputram abhishekshyati.

i.e. After the passing away of the Brīhadrathas (of Magadha) and the Vitihotras (of Central India), Pulaka, having killed his master will anoint his son as king in the country of Avantī (Avantishu). Matsya 272, 1. Vāyu and Brahmānda correct the word Avantishu to Avartishu.

3. Vide, Matsya 272, 7. Vāyu 99, 316. Brahmānda III, 74, 129.

4. There is no doubt that this is the mistake of some late editor. Tacking of two dynasties mentioned one after the other was a common mistake of these editors.

5. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 312.

the second by Udāyin. In the first group the Buddhists mention only two kings, Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, but the Purāṇas add one more king named Darśaka. In the second group the Purāṇas mention only three kings, viz. Udāyin and his son and grandson (called Nandivardhana and Mahānandi by Purāṇas and Anurudhā and Mundā by Buddhists), but the Mahāvamsa adds a fourth king named Nāgadāsaka. But whereas not only the name of Darśaka but even the place assigned to him in the list of kings by the Purāṇas is corroborated by the Svapnavāsavadattam of the ancient poet Bhāsa,⁶ the name of Nāgadāsaka is unknown outside the Ceylonese accounts. Similarly in the Śiśunāga group whereas the Purāṇas mention only two generations, viz. Śiśunāga and his son Kākavarṇa, the Ceylonese chronicles and a third, viz. the ten sons of Kālāśoka, another name of Kākavarṇa. Here also the available evidence supports the Purāṇas. Thus according to Curtius,⁷ the first Nanda murdered his sovereign, and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and afterwards put the young princes also to death. It is clear that the murdered sovereign was Kālāśoka,⁸ and his sons remained for sometime under the guardianship of Nanda until they were also killed. This period of guardianship, however, could not have been of more than a few months, for having killed their father, Nanda could not have spared them for 22 long years, the period for which they are alleged to have ruled by the Chroniclers of Ceylon. It is thus clear that the Purāṇic list of Magadhan kings, inspite of its mistakes, is more reliable than that preserved in the Ceylonese chronicles. What we have to do is simply to put Śiśunaga and his son Kākavarṇa between the last descendant of Bimbisāra and Nanda, and the Purāṇic list becomes free from mistake as far as can be seen.

Coming next to the chronological aspect of the Purāṇic list of Magadhan kings, we find that if we correct but one verse whose faulty metre makes it definitely suspicious, the whole chronology agrees very well with the various facts preserved in Buddhist, Jain and Greek writings. This verse, which gives the reign-period of

6. According to this drama Udayana married the sister of Darśaka. Udayana was a contemporary of Ajātaśatru according to Buddhists. Darśaka, therefore, could have been a contemporary of Udayana only by being the son of Ajātaśatru as the Purāṇas treat him. Bhāsa certainly lived before the Christian era, probably in the time of Chandragupta Maurya, as indicated by his description of India in the Bharatavākyā of Svapnavāsavadatta.

7. Mccrindle — The invasion of India by Alexander p. 222.

8. Raychaudhury — Political History of Ancient India, p. 187.

Udāyin's son and grandson, who are called Nandivardhana and Mahānandi by the Purāṇas, is as follows :—

Dvāchatvārimśat samā bhāvyo rājā vai Nandivardhanah.
Chatvārimśat trayam chaiva Mahānandī bhavishyati.⁹

The son and grandson of Udāyin undoubtedly could not have ruled for such long periods, as they are absolutely shadowy figures. Evidently chatvārimśat in both the lines of this verse is a mistaken reading, and hence the number of syllables is greater than the metre requires. The correct reading appears to have been something as follows :—

Dve cha varshe tato bhāvyo rājā vai Nandivardhanah
Tatputrastu tryam chaiva Mahānandī bhavishyati.

With this single correction the Purāṇic list of Magadhan kings with their reign-periods stands as follows :—

Kshemavarman	..	20 or 36 years.
Kshemajit (Kshatrujas)	..	24 or 40 years.
Bimbisāra	..	38 or 28 years.
Ajātaśatru	..	25 or 27 years.
Darsaka	..	24 or 25 years.
Udāyin	..	33 years.
Nandivardhana	..	2 years.
Mahānandi	..	3 years.
Śiśunāga	..	24 or 40 years.
Kākavarṇa	..	26 or 36 years.
Mahāpadma	..	28 or 88 years.
His sons	..	12 years.
Chandragupta	..	24 years.
Bindusāra	..	25 years.
Aśoka	..	36 years.

Unfortunately because of the ease with which figures whose names are similar (such as 20 and 30, or 24 and 40) might be confused, the figures for the reign-periods of some kings are not the same in all the Purāṇas. But, as pointed out by Pargiter, this is not a serious hindrance, and in such cases either of the two figures may be read as other data may indicate, irrespective of the weight of the manuscripts. We have, therefore, given the more probable figures first.

9. Va 99, 320. The Brahmapāṇḍa and Matsya correct the metre by omitting Dvā. This is evidently an after-thought.

When we construct the chronology of Magadhan kings on the basis of these figures, we find that it wonderfully agrees with the various facts mentioned by Buddhist, Jain and Greek writers. According to the Buddhists, Buddha died eight years after the accession of Ajātaśatru. This means that Ajātaśatru came to the throne in $486 + 8 = 494$ B.C. Bimbisāra, who ruled for 38 years, must have come to the throne in 532 B.C., and his father and grandfather in 556 B.C. and 576 B.C. respectively. The chronology may be tabulated as follows :—

Kshemavarman	..	576 — 556 B.C.
Kshemajit	..	556 — 532 B.C.
Bimbisāra	..	532 — 494 B.C.
Ajātaśatru	..	494 — 469 B.C.
Darśaka	..	469 — 445 B.C.
Udāyin	..	445 — 412 B.C.
Nandivardhana	..	412 — 410 B.C.
Mahānandi	..	410 — 407 B.C.
Śiśunāga	..	407 — 383 B.C.
Kākavarṇa	..	383 — 357 B.C.
Mahāpadma	..	357 — 329 B.C.
His sons	..	329 — 317 B.C.
Chandragupta	..	317 — 293 B.C.
Bindusāra	..	293 — 268 B.C.
Aśoka	..	268 — 232 B.C.

Let us now examine this chronology in the light of various facts preserved by the Buddhist, Jain and Greek writers. According to Buddhist accounts, a hundred and odd years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, the second Buddhist council was held in the reign of Kālāśoka. According to the Purānic chronology, Kākavarṇa (Kālāśoka) began to rule 103 years after the death of Buddha, and this agrees perfectly with the date of the second Buddhist council. Again, the Jain Pariśishtaparvan implies that a period of 95 years elapsed between the death of Udāyin and the accession of Chandragupta.¹⁰ This is exactly the period that elapsed between the two events according to the Purānic chronology. Further, according to Jains, Chandragupta began to reign

10. According to this work Udāyin died 60 years after the death of Mahāvira, and Chandragupta became king 155 years after the same event, thus implying an interval of 95 years. It appears that Hemachandra, the author of Pariśishtaparvan, has confused the date of the death of some later Jain saint with that of the passing away of Mahāvira, for according to ancient and reliable Buddhist evidence Mahāvira died before Buddha.

255 years before the Vikrama era, or in 312 B.C. This date practically agrees with the date that we arrive at by accepting the Purāṇic chronology, the difference of five years being immaterial. But there is another very strong argument which favours the exact year of Chandragupta's accession according to the Purāṇic chronology. The Jains and the Buddhists agree that Chandragupta conquered Magadha after subduing the north-western frontiers of India.¹¹ The presence of Eudemos in the Punjab till 317 B.C., however, shows that Chandragupta could hardly have conquered the Punjab till that date. As a matter of fact the quitting of Punjab by Eudemos must have been the result of the conquests of Chandragupta, who thus must have acceded to the throne neither earlier nor much later than 317 B.C. The Purāṇic date thus admirably suits facts concerning Chandragupta and his career. Lastly, let us consider the date of Aśoka. According to Buddhist tradition, Aśoka's coronation took place 218 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, i.e., in 486-218 = 268 B.C. This is exactly the date that the Purāṇic chronology gives. The assertion of the Mahāvamsa that Asoka had become king four years before his formal inauguration is clearly wrong, because it is not only not supported by any other evidence but is actually opposed by the statements of Aśoka himself in his edicts. Thus Aśoka always counts the length of his reign from his coronation, which certainly means that as usual his coronation and accession were not separated by any considerable length of time. Had there been a difference of four years between the two events, Aśoka would not have measured the length of his reign from the later event. To say that Aśoka's mention of his coronation means that he wanted to distinguish it from his accession is totally unjustified. In fact the word abhisheka usually signifies the beginning of a king's reign, and had Aśoka's abhisheka not synchronised with his accession, he would not have used this word in measuring the length of his reign.

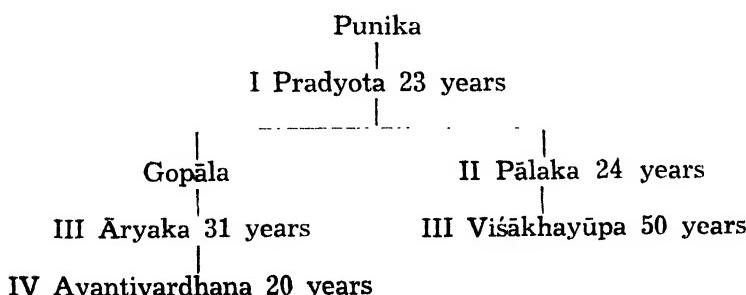
This date of Aśoka also perfectly agrees with the dates of the Greek kings mentioned in his edicts. The dates of the Greek kings were as follows:—

Antiochus Theos of Syria	.	261-246 B.C.
Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt	..	285-247 B.C.
Antigonos Gonatus of Macedonia	..	276-239 B.C.
Magas of Cyrene	..	300-250 B.C.
Alexander of Epirus	..	272-255 B.C.

11. See the story of Chandragupta and the old woman found both in *Parīśishtaparvan* and *Mahāvansā-tika*.

R. E. XIII, in which the names of these kings are mentioned, was, according to the internal evidence of the rock edicts, engraved in the 14th year of Aśoka's reign. Its date according to our chronology would thus be 255 B.C., and at this date all the kings were alive.

Next let us take the chronology of the Pradyotas of Avantī. The first king of this dynasty was Pradyota who ruled for 23 years. He was succeeded by his son Pālaka who ruled for 24 years. The evidence of the ancient drama Mṛichchhakatika proves conclusively that Pālaka's tyranny led to the formation of a strong party in Ujjain, which supported the claim of Āryaka, the son of Gopāla¹² who was the elder brother of Pālaka according to the Kathāsaritsaagra as well as the dramas of Bhāsa. The Purānas mention two kings after Pālaka named Viśakhayūpa and Āryaka (written corruptly as Ajaka and Sūryaka), but they are not said to have come one after the other.¹³ This, therefore, means that there was a division of the Avantī kingdom after the death of Pālaka. The supporters of Gopāla's son Āryaka seem to have placed him on the throne as king of Ujjain, while Viśakhayūpa, who was probably a son of Pālaka, seems to have occupied some outlying part of the Avantī kingdom. Āryaka was succeeded by his son Avantivardhana, who was the last king of the Pradyota dynasty. The reign-period of Viśākha was 50 years and that of Āryaka and Avantivardhana 31 and 20 years respectively. This means that the reigns of Viśākha and Avantivardhana terminated almost simultaneously, as a result of the conquests of Śiśunāga, who is regarded by the Purāṇas as the overthrower of the Pradyota dynasty. This can be best illustrated by a table as follows :—



12. The author of this drama has mistakenly regarded the word Gopāla as a common noun meaning cowherd.

13. Vide Vāyu 99, 312-13.

Now Śiśunāga began to rule in 407 B.C. Assuming that he overthrew the Pradyota dynasty in the very first year of his reign the chronology of Pradyotas would be as follows :—

Pradyota	..	505-482 B.C.
Pālaka	..	482-458 B.C.
Āryaka	..	458-427 B.C.
Avantivardhana	..	327-407 B.C.

This chronology also agrees with the facts recorded in non-Brahmanical works. Thus Pradyota was a contemporary of Buddha and survived him, for, according to the Majjhima Nikaya, shortly after the Buddha's death Ajātaśatru is said to have been fortifying his capital Rājagṛīha in anticipation of an attack by Pradyota. The Purāṇic chronology is in full accord with this fact, for according to it also Pradyota died about 482 B.C., i.e. four years later than Buddha.

We thus see that the chronology of the Pradyotas, Bimbisāras, Śiśunāgas, Nandas and Mauryas, as preserved in the Purāṇas, accords with all the facts mentioned in various Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical works.

A Travancore Inscription in Greek Script

BY

T. K. JOSEPH

Trivandrum

Some 25 years ago, on 14-12-1923, I received for decipherment a graphite rubbing (see fascimile) of an embossed inscription on one of the bells in the Catholic church at Kuravalangād in North Travancore. (Each letter is about 1 inch in height.) As the epigraph was in no script (Vatteluttu, Pahlavi, Hebrew, Kufic, Syriac, Arabic, Latin, &c.) previously found in Malabar inscriptions, I sent copies of it to several experts in India and Europe, and published its fascimile, with notes, in *The Young Men of India* (Calcutta, May and June, 1926), *The Indian Antiquary* (London, July, 1927), &c.

The following are some of the opinions expressed by experts in their letters to me.

1. *Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J., Bombay* : "All the types of the inscription are Greek types. As regards the reading, the difficulty is greater, for it seems that all are abbreviations, *viz.*, the first letter only of each word was used.... It seems to be a religious invocation."—(His reply dated 17th August, 1925).

2. *Sir John Marshall, Simla* : "All I can tell from the eye copy is that the inscription is not Greek"—(Reply dated 5th August, 1925. He means that the words are not Greek).

3. *Ernst Herzfeld, Germany* : "The bell inscription is a great puzzle.... At first, one ought to know everything about the bell itself, to get an idea of its general period and style of art. The inscription itself is so ambiguous, θ is a letter which looks Greek, and one is inclined to read θΕΟΕ as theos, "God". But it seems impossible, because other letters, like G, V, P, S are distinctly un-Greek. So, the greatest probability is that the language might be old-fashioned Portuguese.... It seems that the inscription is full of abbreviations, and that some letters stand for whole words.

There is the famous inscription on bells : Mortuous plango, &c., but no similarity with the existing letters.

It might be, on the other hand, the signature of the master, or a date."—(15th September, 1925).

4. *John Van Manen, London* : "It may well be that it represents nothing more than the barbaric result of an attempt to reproduce something like TE DEUM LAUS. ANNO. MDL, in which the year number is the most unsatisfactory part."—(17th June, 1926).

5. *Sir J. J. Modi, Bombay* : It is not Pahlavi.

6. *Dr. Zwemer, Cairo* : It is not Kufic.

The characters are evidently European as we may infer from the opinions of the first four authorities cited above. Since the letters were made of wax threads, and pressed on to the original wax bell before casting, there must be deformities in them. It is possible also that the ignorant bell-founder misplaced the letters, or even inverted them in the process of sticking them on to the wax bell, and the educated priest or layman who had fashioned the wax letters and arranged them on a strip of palm-leaf, paper, or board in the proper order was absent while the bell-founder was putting them on to the wax bell.

The inscription remained enigmatic until 30th May, 1948, on which date Rev. Fr. Joseph Ēñēkkād of Travancore, published in a Malayalam article in the *Deepika Weekly* (of Kottayam in Travancore), p. 12, his family tradition to the effect that one of the bells in the Kuruvallangād church was presented by his ancestors, and that the name—

"Vattakkantam (Nellittānam) Kōramman" (= the man Kōramman of the place called Vaitakkantam, or Nellitanam)

was on the bell. With that clue I began at once to puzzle out the inscription, and found that it began with—

N E l i u N + e T-h e

in Greek characters (capital and small mingled), although the first N, which is capital Nu, and capital Theta (T-h) before the last e have been turned by the founder thus :—

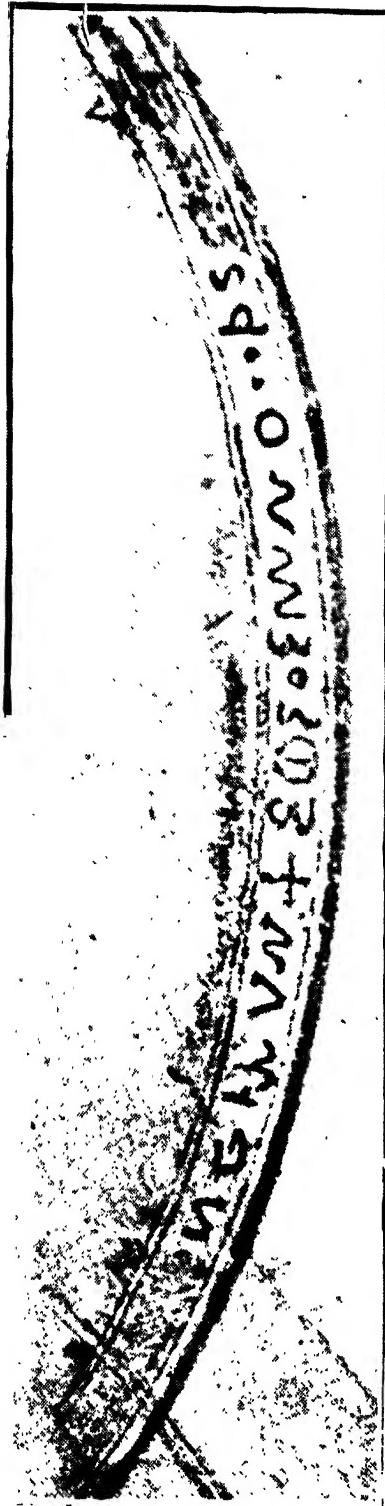
N turned into ||| (Greek capital N is the same as English N)
θ turned into Θ (Theta is a circle with a horizontal diameter).

The middle bar of capital *Epsilon* (E) has dropped to the tip of the bottom bar. *Upsilon* before the second N is like English V, and therefore not quite similar to small *Upsilon*. It may, therefore, be regarded as inverted capital *Alpha*, A with the wax cross-bar lost in manipulation. Capital Greek *Alpha* is the same as English A.

Thus we get—

N E l i A N + e T-h e

KURAVALANGAD BELL INSCRIPTION. J. I. H., AUG 1949



Scale one-fifth.

T. K. JOSEPH

ΝΕΛΙΤΑ + ΕΘΕΟΣΜ Κ
|Ο··ΠΣ

(Correct forms of the Greek letters)

The small letters *Lambda* and *Iota* stick to each other, and there seems to be a small *Tau* (English t) also in the medley. So we finally have —

N E l i t A N + e T-h e (Greek Ν Ε λιτΑΝεθε)

which is the locative form of the Malayalam place-name Nellittānam found in the tradition. The cross in the name is an intruder from the second name Kōramman, as we shall see presently.

That name is a corrupt form of —

Kōra Tomman

[=Koresh (Persian Cyrus) Thomas, or (Dios-)corus Thomas], and the Greek letters—

ο ε μ Ν ο . . Ρ s

form part of Kōra Tomman in Greek script, irregularly. K is missing as it has been refashioned by the bell-founder into a cross, and misplaced in the first word after the wax K had been accidentally broken into its three components thus :

| - - (made into +)

The two dots after No are the two feet of Greek Omega (Ω) detached from its arch-like body, which was converted into a small circle and placed before e.

It can legitimately be inferred that the strip of palm-leaf, paper, or board on which the Greek-knowing man arranged the wax letters in the proper order, was accidentally upset, and several of them dropped to the ground or got dismembered, and there was no time to wait for the learned transliterator's return. Had the epigraph been in Syriac (as in the case of the Syriac bell inscription¹ of 1584 A.D. in the same church) there would have been no such confusion, as priests and others versed in Syriac were not very rare in those days.

The existing letters of the second part, rearranged, with K (the cross) recovered from the first part, will give us —

K O P s o m e N (Greek ΚΩΡΣΟΜΕΝ)

in which P is not English P, but Greek capital Rho, with the sound of R. So

K O P s o m e N is

K O R s o m e N, a shortened form of

1. An English translation of the Syriac inscription of 1584 was published by me in June, 1926.

K O R a s o m e N, which stands for

K Ō R a t o m e N, t being converted into s, as in certain instances like —

1. Mutaliār — Musaliār (a title)
2. Patavāram — Pasāram (= tithe)
3. Thalab-Misri (Arabic) — Sālā-
— Misri (= Salep of Misr = Egypt)
4. Mūttatu — Mūssatu (a caste)
5. Taṭattam — Taṭassam (= hindrance)
6. Varkkattu (Arabic) — Varggissu (= circumcision).

We cannot guess why Greek capitals (uncials) are interspersed with small letters, or why Greek s (*Sigma*) usually placed only at the end of a word appears in the middle, where usually another form of *Sigma* is employed. It may be that the author of the inscription wanted to indicate that s is a purposely altered form of t occurring in tomen (= Tomman, Thomas).

It may be supposed that the shortened form Kōrsomen, with s replacing the legitimate t, was used by the author of the inscription on purpose to indicate its date. According to the Malabar system employed in chronograms —

Kōr-so-men = 571

of one of the following eras current in Travancore :—

1. A.D. 571 (impossible, because A.D. was introduced into Travancore by the Portuguese in the 16th century only).
2. A.D. 1571 (possible; another bell in the church is of 1584).
3. Kali 3571 (= A.D. 469).
4. Kali 4571 (= A.D. 1469).
5. Quilon Era 571 (= A.D. 1395).
6. Jewish Era 4571 (= A.D. 810),
7. Jewish Era 5571 (= A.D. 1810).
8. Greek Era 571 (= A.D. 260).
9. Greek Era 1571 (= A.D. 1260).

The Pudu-Vaippu, Thali, Iravipuram, Parasuramic, Saptarshi, and other eras found used in Travancore and Cochin inscriptions and other records are left out of consideration in this connection. Tradition does not mention the date of the bell, and palaeography² seems to give some indication of age. According to

2. Small Epsilon ε occurs thrice in the inscription. Is its form ancient or modern? It seems to be modern, *perhaps* of 1571 A.D.

The Catholic Directory, Madras, 1924, the Kuravalangad church dates from 335 A.D. But Fr. Bernard assigns it to the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century, in his *History* (of the St. Thomas Christians, Malayalam, Vol. I, 1916, p. 309). But neither author cites authority. Probably both rely on mere tradition.³

It is Theta and Omega that characterise the script as Greek. About 1183 B.C., during the Trojan war, Palamedes introduced Theta, and Simonides Omega into Greek. *Vide* Dr. David Diringer's *The Alphabet*, p. 455 (Philosophical Library, N. Y., 1948).

The earliest known (9th-6th cent. B.C.) form of Theta is a circle with both a horizontal and a vertical diameter, or with a dot alone in the centre ; and that of Omega too is a circle with a dot in the centre. A circle with a vertical diameter, as in our embossed inscription, was Psi in the 7th cent. B.C. See plates in *ibid.* pp. 457, 454, 450.

The earliest (9th -7th cent. B.C.) uncial Epsilon was E-shaped, angular, like the modern one. From the 4th-9th cent. A.D., and later too, we find uncial Epsilons similar to the one in our inscription, i.e., with no angularities. But that fact alone cannot carry the inscription back to one of those centuries. It (C-like Epsilon) can very well be one of the two very late (12th-14th cent., and later) forms of cursive or minuscule Epsilon, magnified, or writ large. The other form (ε) of small Epsilon appears in our inscription thrice. That form dates from at least the 2nd cent. A.D., and survives in *modern* current hand as well as in print. There is therefore no reason for regarding our inscription as *decidedly* ancient.

There is a fountain at Kuravalangād, called Younākkuli, which name is usually interpreted as Jonah's Pool. Though there is the annual Jonah's festival in the church, the name may be interpreted as Yavanā-kkuli, i.e., the Greek's (Ionian's) Pool.⁴

Fra. Paulinus (18th cent.) says: —— “and *Muttiera* and *Corolongatta*, where there are two considerable congregations of the Christians of St. Thomas. At the latter place they have a very beautiful church dedicated to St. Mary, in which the service

3. One may entertain the hope that no tradition will hereafter arise to the effect that the church was built in 571 of the Greek Era, i.e., in 260 A.D. *Vide*, No. 8 in the above list of arbitrarily assumed dates.

4. In Malabar Syrian Christian parlance Greek is ‘Yavanāya bhāṣha’, and the Greek Church is ‘Yavanāya Sabha’. Yavanāya came into Malayalam from Syriac. The Latinite Malabar Christians use the word Greek itself in its Latin form *Graecus* corrupted into ‘Grēkku’.

is performed by priests who are natives of the country. The Nestorians⁵ had formerly a monastery here, inhabited by people of their order from Persia and Chaldea, who were the spiritual guides of the Christians of St. Thomas. There were monasteries also of the like [p. 124] kind at Edapalli, Angamali," (both in North Travancore) "and at Mailapuri" (Mylapore) "on the coast of Coromandel; but they all fell into decline after the Portuguese had established themselves on the coast of Malabar."— (*A Voyage to the East Indies, 1776 to 1789*, London, MDCCC, pp. 123, 124). Some of the Nestorian monks in the above four Travancore monasteries, not far from one another, may have been versed in Greek in addition to Syriac and Persian or Pahlavi. The representation of double ll, tt, and mm of the two Malayalam words Nellittānathu and (Kōra) Tomman in the inscription⁶ by single l, t, and m suggests that the transliterator was a foreigner — European, or West Asiatic.

5. Bp. Medlycott says: "By the year 530" (Cosmas' days) "the Christians in Male, Malabar, had been captured in the Nestorian net."— (*India and....Thomas*, 1905, p. 199, note 1). "There can be little doubt" says Dr. Burkitt, Cambridge, in his letter to me dated 14th Feb. 1927, "that there was a time (say 9th or 10th century) when the Nestorian fully-developed rite was observed by the Christians of South India." The Malabar Liturgy which Menezes ordered to be "corrected" or "purged of certain errors", was the Liturgy of Addai and Mari, says Dom Conolly.

6. Some dated Travancore bell inscriptions:

1. Syriac inscription of 1584 A.D., June (Kuravalangad).
2. Portuguese inscription of 1647 (Kadutturutti).
3. Vatteluttu „ of 1606 March (Mailakkompū). (Fr. Bernard wrongly read it as 686).
4. Do. „ of 768 Q.E. (1592 A.D., Mānmalassēri). (Deciphered by me on 5-2-1949).

Reviews

DELHI AND ITS MONUMENTS, by Surendranath Sen.
A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta, 1948, pages iv and 42, and illustrations.

Dr. S. N. Sen has given in this very readable brochure a most accurate and clearly linked descriptive account of the Monuments of Delhi, which, while receiving individual notice, are yet strung together on a garland of historical facts, that enhance, in most cases, the readers' appreciation of the monuments. He begins with an account of the traditional site of Indrapasta and of the Iron Pillar of Mehrauli. In his reference to Prince Ananga Pal he suggests that the village of Anekapur was very likely named after that Tomar ruler. The Quwwat-ul-Islam is held to be a living symbol of the mighty force which pushed the Turks and Afghans forward into the plains of India. It is pointed out that the present remains of the great Mosque were tampered with by Major Smith who had an unenviable reputation for indiscriminate reconstruction. The vicissitudes of the Qutub Minar, including the theories as to its builders, are followed by an account of the city built by the Khaljis and of Tughlaqabad, the fortress capital of Ghiyasu'-din Tughlaq.

Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq transferred his capital to Adilabad on the hills opposite Tughlaqabad, but deserted it before long. Firuzabad raised by Firuz Tughlaq seems to have been a fairly large town and included the large part of the later city of Shahjahanabad. The removal of the two Asoka pillars from Topra and from Meerut by Firuz to Delhi is narrated in detail; and therein incidentally we learn that the pillars and the inscriptions thereon occasioned wild speculation among the Pandits of the time.

The shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin is pictured in its origin and growth through all the reverent additions made to the original nucleus by successive pious generations of adorers.

Passing on through the 15th century to the days of the early Mughals we are taken to Humayun's *Dinapanah* which probably extended as far south as his own extensive garden-tomb. It contained a number of gardens adorned with runnels of water, jet-fountains and cascades. The Tomb of Humayun itself is deemed by Dr. Sen to be superior in some respects even to the Taj Mahal. "The architect has successfully avoided the conventional severity

of the later Pathans and the overornamentation of the voluptuous Khaljis, while courageously refusing to yield to the romantic sensuousness which marks Mughal works of a later age. The marble dome combines strength and dignity and compares favourably with the bulbous superstructure below in which rest Shah Jahan and his Queen."

Shah Jahan's Delhi receives a detailed treatment of its various contents, including notes on the wall built by the Emperor round his city, and on the Jantar Mantar of Swai Jai Singh. The associations of Col. Skinner with Delhi, the later doings of the Mutiny veterans like Nicholson, the recent INA Trial and the New Delhi planned by Sir Edward Lutyens on a most extravagant scale, these are all traced, with an apt concluding remark that though the city is the vast cemetery of vanished dynasties and rulers, still, under Free India, the spirit of the old monuments symbolic of racial harmony and cultural fusion, may be preserved and enabled to flourish in new institutes of cultural progress. The appendix matter contains a useful chronological table and a select bibliography of works dealing with the History and Archaeology of the City. The illustrations have been well chosen and represent the various stages in the fortunes of the City.

— C. S. S.

HOW GREEK SCIENCE PASSED TO THE ARABS, by De Lacy O'Leary, D.D., Lecturer in Bristol University. Routledge and Kegan Paul, Limited, London—1948, pages vi and 181.

The way in which Greek Literature passed to the Arabs and the Persians and then to the Turks can be traced in fairly definite outline, though it should be noted that only Greek, and not Latin, writers were known to the Arabs and other Orientals; and among these only writers on medicine, astronomy, mathematics and philosophy, and not poets, historians and orators, were known. Alexandria was the centre of the Hellenistic world from which Greek thought spread outward to the countries eastward. Christian Syriac writers first communicated this thought. Mathematical and astronomical works which had reached India from Alexandria were also transmitted as shaped by Indian writers. There was a third line of communication from Bactria and Central Asia to Iran and Mesopotamia through the city of Marw, probably a Buddhist medium. The main distributing centre of thought in the Arab world in the Abbassid days was Bagdad. It may be noted that the Arabs co-ordinated the works of Greek and Indian scientists in astronomy and mathematics and thereby made a very real

advance in algebra and in both plane and spherical trigonometry; and they clearly perceived also the weakness of the Ptolemaic Cosmology. The Arabs were careful observers in medicine of clinical data, invented some new instruments and advanced medical knowledge in all branches except surgery. But Arab scientists depended upon powerful patrons and appealed little to the average man.

• Our author traces the process of Hellenisation of Syria from the time of the Seleucids and also the vicissitudes of the frontier provinces of the Roman Empire ; he then outlines the legacy of Greece and the many-sided cultural activities of the new cosmopolitan Greek-life that developed at Alexandria. He also notes the growth in the knowledge of Philosophy understood in its most comprehensive form, including Neo-Platonism. He stresses the fact that the early Christian Church was essentially a Hellenising force, using the Greek tongue and its appeal was largely to races who were Greek in speech and culture. Among the Jews, particularly after the Dispersion, there began a rivalry between the strict traditional party and the lax Hellenistic Jews. The process is explained by which, while Judaism reverted to the ritualism of the past and to national exclusiveness, Christianity swam in a more open atmosphere and inclined towards the left.

The structure of the Christian Church followed the Roman imperial civil organisation, though the areas of its different provinces, dioceses and eparichies were not in all cases identical with the civil divisions of the Empire. The philosophy utilised by the Church was the Aristotelian one which also guided the movements of the Arians, Nestorians, etc. To the Nestorian Church Dr. O'Leary devotes a full chapter, wherein he indicates how when Bagdad was founded in 762, Nestorian physicians and teachers were drawn to it and the Nestorian heritage of Greek scholarship passed to the Khalif's city. In this transmission, Jafar Ibn Barmak, the able minister of Harun ar-Rashid, was the leading agent whose pro-Greek attitude was due largely to his hereditary association with Marw.

The Monophysites of Syria, Persia and Egypt were generally efficient in missionary work ; and though their monasteries were not in intimate touch with the surrounding Arabs they also communicated pro-Greek influences.

It is interesting to read of Indian influence on the Arabs exercised through both land and sea. Brahmagupta's *Brahmasiddhanta* became known to the Arabs even before the reign of Harun ar-Rashid and formed the foundation of the work known as *Sindhind* which was perhaps based on an immediate Persian version. Both

Brahmagupta and Varaha Mihira (mis-spelt Varaha Mihisa on page 105) revealed in their works the influence of Alexandrian scholarship. Arya Bhata may be cited as an example of the method usually adopted by Indian scholars who assimilated the substance of the actual Greek works and restated and reinterpreted them. Thus these Indian scientists improved upon what they got from the Greeks and the material was rendered more definite and flexible by their additions like the use of a decimal notation and a large number of symbols. Al-Biruni notes the existence of two Arya Bhatas. The older of them produced several works on astronomy and mathematics including a treatise on arithmetic and another on the geometry of the sphere.

Our author concludes that Arab astronomy was enabled to develop only by the use of Indian mathematical data and used Greek signs as conveyed through the Indian medium. Bactria was a Hellenistic centre from the age of Alexander and its Hellenic culture was not destroyed by the conquest of the Sakas. A strong cluster of Buddhist elements survived in Eastern Persia and in Bamiyan (to the south of Balkh); and possibly Buddhism served as a fruitful additional medium for the communication of Indian ideas and knowledge of Western Asia.

Elsewhere in the West, Greek philosophical teaching was passed on to the Arabs through what may be called the legal medium, in that, theories of Roman Law based on Stoic concepts entered into the earliest speculations of Muslim jurists. Greek traces are discoverable in Muslim Theology, e.g., in problems like the freedom of the will and in the qualities of God, which might have come both from Syria and Mesopotamia or might have spread from one area to the other. We learn that in Mutazilite thought there was plain evidence of the solvent effect of Greek philosophical speculation on Arab theology. The Barmakids whose ancestors were the hereditary abbots of a Buddhist monastery in Balkh, had later conformed to the Mazdean religion and had finally embraced Islam, were keenly interested in Greek science that was intensively cultivated at Marw; even before Harun ar-Rashid's time, Greek physicians and astrologers had been employed at the Khalif's Court; and Harun actively encouraged the study and translation of Greek scientific works. Medical knowledge came to the Arabs first through a Syriac medium and then by direct translation of the Greek works. Mathematics and Astronomy came through Indian writers who had taken much of their material from Greek teaching; and translation of scientific works from Greek into Syriac and Arabic only developed later. The last chapters

of the book under review deal with translations of Greek works to the Arabic and with the achievements of the early and later translators. These translations include the works *Kalilag wa Dimnag* and the *Khudai-Nama* which formed the basis of *Firdawai's Shah Nama*, among others. The translation of scientific material began regularly under Harun ar-Rashid; while that of medical works started a little later, and was first associated with Zibrail II; but outside court circles, the scientific movement made but little appeal, as already noted. Hunayn ibn Ishaq translated in the 9th century into Syriac a large number of books on medicine. The fame of Aristotle spread among the Muslims as soon as they turned their attention to Greek scientific materials. Aristotelian studies began with Al-Kindi who definitely accepted the great Greek as the *Philosopher, par excellence* while, Al-Farabi maintained that Philosophy was equally true, along with the Holy Quran.

The narrative of the subject matter is interspersed with historical details of the various powers through a whole millennium and more, and through the entire range of countries from Syria and Egypt to India and Bactria. The treatment is instructive, but somewhat wearisome to plod through. There are occasional errors in spelling like *brakti*, instead of *bhakti* (p. 125).

— C. S. S.

HUMAYUN IN PERSIA, by Sukumar Ray, M.A., Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Monograph Series — Vol. VI. (1948) pp. XVI and 113.

As Sir Jadunath Sarkar remarks, Humayun's doings in Persia, have been slurred over by the Mughal court historians, or at the best left clouded in rhetoric. Mr. Ray claims to have consulted numerous and hitherto unutilised sources, bearing on both the Moghul and the Safavid points of view. Not only does he discuss thoroughly the question whether Humayun accepted the Shiah faith, but he has given the correspondence of the royal fugitive with Shah Tahmasp, "utilised and published on the first time." Detailed attention is devoted to the Sieges of Qandahar which continued for long afterwards to be the bone of contention between Persia and India.

Thus the length of Humayun's stay at Herat, the correctness of the date of Humayun's inscription on the tomb of Ahmad-al-Jamir (14 Shawwal 951), Bairam Beg's visit to the court of the Shah (for which the author relies on Jauhar's narrative), and Humayun's reception by the Shah, these are detailed in Chapters

III and IV. Jauhar gives more details than other writers regarding the three periods of Humayun's stay with the Shah, but "his account is, as is quite natural, unsystematic and deficient in chronology." The Shah first attended to convert his guest to his faith, then ceased to have any intercourse with him on account of hostility, and only in the last period, changed his attitude and prepared to help him to recover his dominions. Family jealousies and dynastic rivalries coloured the Shah's attitude, among other factors.

Mr. Ray discusses, in a footnote, the fortunes of the diamond that Babur got from Rajah Bikramajit of Gwalior and that Humayun now presented to the Shah and believes that it was most probably the celebrated Koh-i-Nur. It was due to the persuasions of his sister and of his Diwan that the Shah desisted from his purpose of finishing off his fugitive guest. The opinion is expressed that Humayun accepted formally the Shi'ah faith in the presence of the Shah; but it is not certain whether he as formally abandoned that creed and died a Sunni, and that Bairam Beg (he was honoured with the title of Khan by the Shah) who advised his master to seek shelter in Īrān, was uniformly loyal, though he was tempted with high office in Persia; and consequently his encomium from the pen of Abul Fazl that he "throughout waited on the stirrup of His Majesty....as if he were his good Fortune" is "not altogether unjust."

An appendix discusses the chronology of Humayun's stay at the Safavid court.

His first siege and capture of Qandahar from Mirza Askari, with Persian help (September 1545) and the reasons for his seizing the fort from Persian hands shortly afterwards are detailed in Chapter IV.

It is concluded that while Humayun sacrificed his personal religion in Īrān, he did not sacrifice his political independence; and even the former was done only as a political move. Also the Shah's use of the word *Nawwab* for Humayun, did not mean any vassalage or subordination as that title had been used in application to himself in several places. The Shah's congratulations to Akbar on the latter's accession to the throne clearly indicate that he fully recognised the absolute independence of the Chaghatai dynasty in India. Humayun's securing of Qandahar for himself was no military triumph, but only a *coup de main*. The view is also expressed that Humayun's contact with Persia led to a general immigration of Persians soldiers, artists and writers, who enriched the Indo-Moslem civilisation in the Mughal epoch.

The bibliography discusses in full the value of both the Indian chronicles and those written from the Safavid point of view; and the appendix matter contains the text and translation of the letters which passed between the *two monarchs*.

— C. S. S.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, 1757-1939, edited by Dr. A. C. Banerjee, in three volumes. Volume III, A. Mukerjee and Co., Calcutta (1949), pp. XXI and 480.

This edition takes in that portion of the documents of Volume II of the first edition falling in the years 1917-39, and many new ones besides, like the Montford Report on Devolution to Provincial Governments ; the Government of India Act, 1919 ; the Simon Commission on Central and Provincial Subjects under the 1919 Act ; and extracts from the Government of India Act, 1935 and from resolutions and speeches delivered at the National Congress, and from the speeches of Gandhiji and Jinnah.

The Introduction, as usual with our author, is very informative and readable and tells, in clear terms, that the 1919 Reforms synchronised with the transformation of the Congress from a constitutional body into a revolutionary organisation. The defects of Dyarchy under the Mont-Ford Act and of Provincial Autonomy under the Act of 1935, the sterilisation of the Federation scheme and the dry academic character of the discussion of treaty rights by the Nehru Committee and the Butler Committee, are all well detailed here. The documents will illustrate the views expressed in the Introduction that unity could have been preserved by congress co-operation with Government in the prosecution of the war, but instead of that co-operation, Congress got a challenge and accepted it, with *certainty of ultimate triumph* but not then anticipating the repudiation of unity rendered inevitable by the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah and his League.

— C. S. S.

ANANDARANGA VIJAYA CAMPU OF SRINIVASA KAVI.

Edited with critical Introduction, Notes and Sanskrit Commentary by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D., University of Madras, with a Foreword by H. E. C. F. Baron, Governor of French India: 1948 : Tirucchirapalli, Palaniappa Brothers, pp. XV, 75 and 199. Price Rs. 4/-.

This Historical Kavya edited with sumptuous annotatory equipment marked by an astonishing mastery of historical detail, is an

addition to the indigenous historical and quasi-historical literature available for the first half of the 18th century. A secondary literary piece relating to the Pondicherry Diarist is *Anandarangaratchandamu*, a Telugu work on prosody dedicated to Anandarangam Pillai and written by Kasturi Rangayya Kavi. It contains an account of the genealogy and family of Ranga Pillai and was published in 1922 by Messrs. V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, Madras.

Dr. Raghavan has based his text of the *Campu* on two manuscripts and has supplied notes and rejected readings. To these he has prefixed an Introduction containing a biographical sketch of the contents of the *Campu*.

The former of these affords instructive reading about the private life and qualities of the Diarist. The rivalry subsisting between the Hindu family of Pillai and the Christian family of Lazare de Motta and Pedro Kanakaraya Mudali can be studied intensively on the basis of Pillai's *Diary* as well as of the papers regarding the doings of Lazare, Pedro and others of their family who were closely linked up with the fortunes of Pondicherry from its very foundation by Martin, to the decade after the fall of Pondicherry before Coote in 1761. The latter papers have been partly acquired by the reviewer from M. Gnana Diagou, the present representative of that family and a transcript of the material in Tamil furnished by him has been acquired by the National Archives, New Delhi. A comparative estimate of the *Diary* and these materials will enable the evaluation on a very impartial basis of the doings of the two families, and in particular of Ananda Ranga Pillai and of Pedro Kanakaraya Mudali, his contemporary, in the fateful years of the governorships of Dumas and Dupleix. It will also explain one source of the power wielded by the Catholic priests and of the pressure they were able to exercise both on the administration and on the Hindu section of the population.

Referring to Rangam Pillai's brother, Tiruvenkatam Pillai and our author's note on him (pp. 42-43) it may be remarked *en passim* that the flight of merchants and weavers from Madras on its capture by the French made the work of any dubash difficult and the prospects very poor, and the inefficiency of Tiruvenkatam was due to external difficulties as well. Rangam Pillai himself has noted in his *Diary* thus : "We do not know where the Tamils were who left Madras and would not return in our time ; but where their (English) flag was hoisted ten lakhs (an exaggeration) of Tamils, Muhammadans, Lubbays, Pattanawars, Collies, etc., crowded into the town as joyfully as though the Fort and town belonged to each

one of them." While Madras was ruined, Pondicherry was not correspondingly benefited, in spite of the best efforts of Dupleix to attract the merchants and weavers.

The note on p. 48 on the date of Nizamu'l Mulk's death on a day between May 22nd and June 2nd 1748, is, in reality only the date of his death fixed by scale on the basis of 4th Jummada II. A. H. 1161 equivalent to 22nd May 1748 (P. S.) and to 2nd June 1748 (N. S.), the latter being the one noted by the Diarist as new style dates were used by the French, while the English clung on to old style dates for some years longer.

The *Campu* says that Anandaranga Pillai not only protected the family of Chanda Sahib, but at its request sent the needed ransom amount to the Marathas. The families of Nawab Sapdar Ali and Chanda Sahib and others were sent to the European settlements on the coast for the sake of safety from the time of Raghujī Bhonsle's Carnatic expedition of 1740-41; and the fortunes of Chanda Sahib during the years of his captivity and his subsequent release and activity in the Chitaldrug and Bednore country and alliance with Hidayat Mohiu'd-din Khan (Muzaffar Jang) have been described by Orme, Wilks, Cultriu and Dodwell. Muzaffar Jang's mother was the daughter of a Pathan noble who was the first wife of Nizamu'l Mulk. Both Nazir Jang and his elder brother Ghazi'u'd dinkhan were the sons of Nizamul Mulk's second wife, and there is no truth in the scandal recorded by the Pondicherry diarist that Nasir Jang was the son of Nizamu'l Mulk by a low woman. The note (2) on p. 56 is very instructive and those on Nasir Jang's actions and movements in the succeeding pages are brimful of information. Regarding note 7 on p. 61, Nasir Jang's four younger brothers were according to Burhanu'd-din, Salabat Jang, Nizam Ali Khan, Basalat Jang and Mughal Ali Khan, in order of seniority.

The battle described on pp. 64-67 of the summary of contents was evidently the Cannonade of April 4 (N. S.) 1750 between Nasir Jang's forces and the French allies. The *Campu* reveals the intrigues and counter-intrigues going on between Dupleix and Nasir Jang's Sardars: and the account of the disposition of the army of Nasir Jang in the final struggle of October-December as given in the *Campu* can be compared with the disposition of the Nizam's camp in the *Rahat Afza* of Mir Najaf Ali Khan, a courtier of Nasir Jang and an eye-witness of the battle, who composed his work only seven years after the events which it describes (see *A History of Gingee and Its Rulers* by C. S. Srinivasachari (1943)—pp. 494-9, including foot-notes).

With regard to the end of Nasir Jang, while the *Campu* says that Himmat Bahadur Khan severed his head as the latter was moving on his elephant, the *Rahat Afza* distinctly mentions that the Khan, without a word and without replying to the salute of his master, shot the latter in the chest with a *Shirbacha* causing instantaneous death; and the *Tuzak-i-Walajahi* of *Burhanu'd din* says that the Khan shot Nasir Jang through the heart with a musket. One version says that he was then transfixed with a spear.

The theory put forward that the name Chennapatnam for Madras, was derived from Chennakesavapura, after the deity in the Chennakesavaperumal temple, is curious and interesting; and it may be pointed out that the name Chennapatnam was applied from the beginning to the Indian town that grew up to the North of Fort St. George, which was built on the site of Madras Patnam according to the first grant; and that Damarka Ayyappa Nayak, who, along with his brother Venkatapathi, helped the English in the acquisition of Madras, when writing to Francis Day at Arma-gaon in 1659, expressed a desire to found a town in the name of his father, Chennappa Nayak.

It may be also pointed out that the suggestion in Note 2 on p. 36 that our Diarist was possibly the Ranga Pillai against whose name 3 private houses in the Fort area at Madras, in 1800, (vide table on pp. 510-11 of H. D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. III) is not sustainable as the English authorities would not have allowed a French citizen to own house property in the Fort area into which, after the French capture of Madras and its subsequent rendition (1746, 49) even Jews and Armenians were not freely admitted. Moreover, the late date, 1800, militates against the suggestion as Ranga Pillai died in 1761.

The wealth of information culled by Dr. Raghavan in illustration of the data noted in the *Campu* is remarkable; and the skill with which the details are marshalled is praiseworthy. This review has been naturally confined to the Introduction and the Summary of Contents of the *Campu*.

— C. S. S.

NEWS LETTERS OF THE MUGHAL COURT. Edited by Prof. B. D. Verma, M.A., First Edition, Bombay. Price Rs. 14-13-0.

The News Letters of the Mughal Court printed in this volume refer to the reign of Ahmad Shah 1751-52 A.D. The importance of News Letters in general for the study of Indian History relating

to the Mughal period cannot be exaggerated. Most of the Persian News Letters were received by the Resident at Poona from time to time. The News Letters constitute important source material for the history of the period to a research student. No one can contradict the fact that the news furnished in these letters are accurate and correct. Much creditable research has been done so far as the history of the Mahrattas is concerned; but that history cannot be complete without a full reference to News Letters. Hence the Editor, Prof. Verma must be congratulated for placing before the public the News Letters which refer to the reign of Ahmad Shah. Some of these News letters have been rendered into English in the volume under review.

The News letters presented here are of unique interest both from the political and social point of view. The weak government which was obtaining at the Court and the assistance given to the Mughal Minister Safdar Jang by Holkar and Scindia of the time are furnished to us by the News Letters. We have in them also a detailed account of the criminal administration as also of the Court regulations. Much more interesting is the glimpse we get of the social customs and manners that then prevailed. We are told for example of the extravagant expenses and show at marriages and festivals. Two festivals especially find mention in these letters. One is the festival popularly known as Id. How on this occasion the Emperor visited the mosque for prayers is revealed to us by a letter. Another mentions the Divali festival of the Hindus when the Hindu nobles sent lavish presents to the sovereign and high officials. Some letters speak of the city of Delhi with all its monuments. On the whole the News letters contain much interesting information regarding the social and political conditions of the times in which they were written. We are thankful to Prof. Verma for having brought out this volume important to students of history interested in the reign of Ahmad Shah.

— V. R. R. Dikshitar

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY TAMIL SERIES No. 9—TOLKAP-PIAM-PORULATIKARAM, Vol. I Part I—AKATTINAI IYAL Do. Part II—KARPIYAL and PORULIYAL, translated into English, by E. S. Varadaraja Iyer, B.A., Lecturer, Tamil Research Department—Published by the University—pp. XIV, 1-206, and 207-584.

As has been indicated in his Foreword by Mr. M. Ruthnam-swamy the author has attempted to cull all the historical information from this great Tamil classic which is replete with infor-

mation on *poruḷ* pertaining to the life of the ancient Tamils, The four chapters of *Poruḷatīm*. *Kāram* rendered into English in this volume well serve as the basis of a study of the sociology of the people. The translation enables the non-Tamil reader to understand the meaning and significance of the several verses cited as illustrations by the commentators — Ilampūraṇar and Nachinār-kiniyar, both removed by a space of several centuries from the author — which have been placed next to the *sūtras* themselves; besides a close translation of about four hundred poems culled from the *Sangham* anthologies. There is a prefatory essay on the social life of the ancient Tamils explaining the scope of *Poruḷatikāram*. In portions of Part I, besides the *sutras*, only translations of the commentaries and comments of the author are given.

Dealing with Kingship we read how the two great commentators differed as to the scope of „*uriபீடி*“ (*Sutra 31*, Akattinai Iyal) with reference to learning; and we are told that Nachinār-kiniyar was firmly convinced that the *Vedas* were, or came to the Tamils, later than the date of their earliest works.

The prefatory note to *Kalaviyal* is informative as containing a cogent description of the course of love and the various actions born of it; but in many places it is the ideal that is pictured, e.g. the trials of the maid to see whether her inference is correct and whether it coincides with the thought of the lovers. *Karpiyal* describes the chaste life of the householder and the word *Karpū* is held to take its origin from the word *Karpittal* as the lady is taught her duties first by her parents and then by her husband as to her duties and behaviour. In *Sutra 142*, *Karanam* connotes the ceremonial part of the wedding; and Ilampūraṇar indicates, in his commentary, that the groom should be of a slightly higher strain than the bride, showing the operation of the *anulōma* principle. A succeeding sutra, uses the term *Aiyar* who forged, the *Karanam*, *Aiyar* being equated with learned sages by our author giving a liberal interpretation to the term. Polygamy and concubinage prevailed and were freely permitted.

Parattayar Pirivu connotes the separation of the hero in quest of prostitutes, who, however, were of the better class like the *Hetairia* of Periclean Athens and the contemporary Greek world. Tiruvalluvar has also treated of *Udal* (*Pulavi*) as a contrivance for deriving maximum pleasure from conjugal unions. Tamil inscriptions mention more than 400 names of dancing maidens dedicated to the great Rajarajesvara shrine of Tanjore.

Poruliyal chapter deals with matter not dealt with both in *Akam* and *Puram* (p. 426) like the anomaly relating to the maid in the clandestine stage. *Valakku* indicated the customs practised by the high and the noble; and in subjective treatises statements not in conformity with usage may be suitable. Many illustrations given for the sutras disclose the very wide learning of the author and his fine power of translation. It is heartening that he has given us a promise of speedy publication of the other *Iyals* of *Tolkappiyam* with addenda and corrigenda in the concluding book. We wish that better types and paper had been used for such an important university publication.

— C. S. S.

BRAHMA VIDYA, Volume I, No. 1, Published by the Advaita Sabha, Kumbakonam. Annual Subscription — Rs. 5/-.

The Advaita Sabha of Kumbakonam was founded more than fifty years ago with the object of promoting the study of Advaita Vedanta, and could count among its earliest votaries men of distinction like Sir A. Seshayya Sastri, Professor M. Rangacharya and Justice Subramania Ayyar. The record of its progress shows a steady increase in membership from 20 to 200 and the extension of its activities from Kumbakonam to other places like Madras, Madura and Palghat. Conducting classes in Vedanta at Kumbakonam, arranging periodical popular lectures at different centres and instituting studentships for advanced studies in Advaita have been the main lines of activity of the Sabha ever since its inception. To these has now been added the quarterly publication of the Journal Brahma Vidya, whose chief aim is to publish the hitherto un-published works under the inspiration and guidance of Kamakoti Peethādhipati Sri Sankaracharya of Kumbakonam.

The first issue of the Journal bids fair to further this laudable object. It consists of three sections — Sanskrit, English and Tamil. The Sanskrit section publishes for the first time two rare manuscripts :—(7) *Jnānākuśam*, whose authorship is not definitely known, with the Vivarana of Sri Sankara and (2) *Manīshā Panchakam* of Sri Sankara with explanatory notes in Sanskrit. The English section includes two learned articles, —one by Sri K. S. Ramaswami Sastri and the other by Sri K. Balasubramania Ayyar. The former is on the Sri Sankaracharya Gospel of Bhakti and Mukti, and the latter on the Practical Value of Advaita. In the Tamil section the article on the immemorial antiquity of the Advaita Sampradāya is specially noteworthy.

Among the systems of Indian thought Advaita is no doubt the most widely known, for both the scholar and the layman, who could claim any acquaintance with Indian Philosophy, have some grasp of the fundamentals of Advaita. It cannot, therefore, be maintained that Advaita suffers from obscurity, as other systems of Vedanta do, but it is a fact that there is much in the literature of Advaita that still remains to be unearthed and published in print, and Journals like the Brahma Vidya are eminently suited to serve this purpose.

— K. SESHADRI.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

- I. *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XIII, Part I, February 1949, Olcott No.
 1. *Olcott Meets His Master*—one night in the Master's astral body. He left on the table his embroidered head-cloth as "a tangible and enduring proof that I had not been 'overlooked', or psychically befooled."
 2. *The Future Role of Sanskrit*. By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. "If Sanskrit is to grow, there must be a graft planted on the ground with facilities to take root and continue. This can be done only by developing a "Modern literature in Sanskrit."
 3. *Indian Cameralism*. By K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.
 4. *Influence of Indian Thought on French Literature*. By Prof. Louis Renou. "How could she (France) fail to acknowledge the splendour of Indian Culture, as she did previously, when the treasures of India's past first met her gaze ? "
- II. *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XIII, Part 2, May 1949, Blavatsky No.
 1. *A Land of Mystery*. By H. P. Blavatsky. A plea for archaeological research in America, made 69 years ago (in April 1880). "That there must have been an intimate connection at some time between the old Aryans, the prehistoric inhabitants of America—whatever might have been their name—and the ancient Egyptians, is a matter more easily proved than contradicted."
 2. *Indo-Roman Transliteration*. By T. R. Venkatarama Sastri. "A permanent system of truly scientific symbols" (like "the international system—competently fixed more than fifty years ago", or that of the International Phonetic Association), "must be introduced for the benefit of the young learners," in preference to the "new unfamiliar, bizarre world of symbols and sounds" now being advocated to avoid diacritical marks.
 3. *The Future Role of Sanskrit (Contd.)*. By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, and Dr. Louis Renou.
- III. *Andhra Historical Research Society (Journal of the —)*, Vol. XVI, Parts 1 to 4, July 1945 to April 1946. Rajahmundry, 1948.
 1. *Early Andhras before the Satavahanas*. By Prof. P. S. Sastri, M.A. From "Tān anu vyājahārāntān," in the Aitreya

Brahmana, and the customs and manners of the Andhras "we can conclude that the Andhras were originally Aryans" of the first wave of Aryan immigration (the Solar dynasty) which the eldest fifty sons of Visvamitra represent". He once cursed them, says the above Brahmana passage, and so they mixed freely with the non-Aryan tribes. "This intermixture has resulted in the rising up of the new races, called the Andhras", originally called Andhas, blind folk, "whose Vedic ancestor is Kanva". In 3077 B.C. (acc. to Matsya Purana, 271, 41 and 47 and Varaha Mihira's *Brihat Samhita*, 13.1) "he 27th Andhra king was ruling; and in 677 B.C. the Andhras began their empire-building."

"It is a prevalent custom only amongst the Andhras to marry the daughter of one's own mother's brother." No, it is in vogue in Kerala too, and doctors say that the infantile fatal eye disease called glioma, very prevalent in Kerala, is probably caused by such marriage among blood relations.

2. *A Study of Telugu Place-names*. By Prof. A. S. Thyagaraju, M.A.

3. *Indian Place-names*—a plea for starting an Indian Place name Society. By Sri K. Iswara Dutt, B.A.

4. *Dardic and Dravidian* with a map to show the route of pāśāca expansion from beyond the Hindukush. By Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D.

5. *Paaladas of the Asokan Edicts*. By Diwan Bahadur Sri T. Bhujanga Rao, M.A., B.L. They are early Parthian (Pārada) settlers, with no beard, the later ones being the Pahlavas, wearing beards, since it became the rule in Parthia during the Sassanian period.

6. Several copper-plate inscriptions.

7. *Samprati* (Priyadarsin) was the grandson and immediate successor of Asoka, and not identical with him, concludes Sri T. L. Shah in his brochure *The Place of Samprati in the History of India*, from four types of evidence (dates, coins, inscriptions, and books). Vide also his *Ancient India*, Vol. II.

IV. *Ceylon Review (University of—)*, Vol. VII, No. 2, April, 1949.

1. Shan-Chien-P'i-P'O-Sha, or the Chinese version of the Samantapāśādika, the Pali Commentary on the *Vinaya*, translated by Sanghabhadra (A.D. 489). By Prof. P. V. Bapat, Poona.

2. Some corrections of Geiger's Mahavamsa Translation. By Rev. A. T. Buddhadatta.
 3. *Sutta Nipāta : The Khaggavisāṇa Sutta.* By Dr. N. A. Jayawickrama.
 4. *Epigraphical Map of Ceylon, 3rd B.C. to 3rd A.C.* By Mr. C. W. Nicholas. "It may be that some of the earliest cave inscriptions are earlier than the time of Dēvānampiya Tissa in whose reign Buddhism was adopted as the State religion."
- V. *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute (Journal of the—)*, Vol. V, Part 3, May 1948.
1. *A Note on the Jaina Prasna-Vyakarana Sutra.* By B. C. Law.
 2. *Some More Points of Mr. Athavalis articles on Mahabharata Events.* By Sri Swami Bhumananda.
 3. *Some Well-known Facts re. the Mahabharata.* By Sri Pandyala V. S. Sastry.
- VI. *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute (Journal of the—)*, Vol. V, Part 4, August 1948.
1. *Ganapathi—Worship, and the Upapuranas.* By Dr. R. C. Hazra, Dacca.
 2. *Whitehead and Advaita Vedanta of Sankara* (Contd. from part 3 above). By Dr. P. Nagaraja Rao Visnagar.
- VII. *India Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1, January-March 1949.
1. The Draft Constitution (contributed).
 2. India and the World : U. N. G. Assembly.
 3. *Communism in Asia.* By G. F. Hudson.
- VIII. *Madras Oriental Research (Journal of the—)*, Vol. XVI, Part IV, June, 1947, Pub. 1949.
1. *Vedic Studies : III. Gotram.* By Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah.
 2. *Janardana Vyasa.* By K. Madhava Sarma and Dr. V. Raghavan.
- IX. *Mysore University (Half-yearly Journal of the—)* Vol. IX, No. 2, March, 1949.
1. *Two Lectures on the Republic of Plato,* by N. A. Nikam.
- X. *Numismatic Society of India (Journal of the—)*, Vol. X, Part I, June 1948, issued Feb. 1949.

1. *Notes on Punch-Marked Puranas.* By T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A. B.L., Madras.
2. *The Attribution of the Sri-Ja-Pratapa Coins.* By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Banaras.
3. *A. Rare Punch-Marked, (Owl) Coin.* By V. P. Rode, M.A., Nagpur.

— T. K. Joseph.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society*, Nagpur.
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly*, Poona.
4. *Brahma Vidya*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
5. *Britain To-day*, London.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi
7. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
8. *Commercial Review*, Alleppey.
9. *The Federated India*, Madras.
10. *Half Yearly Journal of Mysore University*, Mysore.
11. *The Hindustan Review*, Patna.
12. *The Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *India Digest*, Ahmedabad.
15. *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
18. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
19. *Journal of Sadul Rajasthan Research Institute*, Bikaner.
20. *Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
21. *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
22. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
23. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*. Benares.
24. *Perspective*, Delhi.
25. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
26. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry.
27. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
28. *University of Ceylon Review*, Colombo.
29. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Cocanada.
30. *Quarterly Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy*, Bangalore.

Annals of Old Madras

BY

K. NARASIMHACHARI, M.A.

THE INTERPRETER

Once the Braminy finished swearing the witness in one or other of the forms set out in the previous pages, it became the task of the Interpreter to make the Court understand and appreciate the evidence in the case. The Interpreter is as old as the Courts of Judicature at Fort St. George. The first of these Courts established in 1678—The Choultry Court—recorded the proceedings in Portuguese. The first man who held the office was Thomas Clarke. On November 15, 1686, he was succeeded by John Thomas on a salary of Pags. 5 per month and 2 more towards his house rent and diet. When the Mayor's Court was erected in 1688 the proceedings came to be recorded in English. With the reorganisation of the Mayor's Court in 1726 and the gradual growth of Commerce and the town round Fort St. George, the English, who at first declined to entertain suits between natives in their courts, gradually had to entertain them either because the natives happened to be defendants or they consented to have their causes tried in the English Courts. Therefore, they were under the circumstances compelled to employ Interpreters for the various languages the inhabitants spoke. We find in the Mayor's Court an Interpreter for Malabar and Gentoo (Tamil and Telugu) on Pags. 15 per month, a second for Persian, Portuguese and Moors, a third for Guzerat and Mahratta, and a fourth for French and Dutch.

The Mayor's Court was in 1798 superseded by the Recorder's Court. On the suggestion of Sir Thomas Strange, Recorder, that Court had two principal interpreters, one for Malabar and Gentoo and another for Persian, Portuguese and Moors, each on a salary of 25 pags, and a French and Dutch interpreter on pags. 5 per mensem. An allowance of pags 2 per month was paid to a man "occasionally employed in interpreting the Mahratta and Guzerat" (7-1-1799).

The Supreme Court erected in 1801 superseded the Recorder's Court. It consisted of a Chief Justice and two puisne justices. Here is the genesis of the regular flow of Barrister Judges from

England. That Court was a Court of Original Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction. The Interpreters for the Malabar and Gentoo as also for the French and Dutch languages on the Crown and Civil sides of the Court were continued and special Interpreters were suggested to be employed for interpreting the Persian, Portuguese, Moors and Guzerat from time to time and paid by fees as occasion required. (15-8-1801). In addition to these there was an Armenian Interpreter in 1802. Robert Williams was appointed in 1803 Persian and Hindustani Interpreter Moulvie to the Court—on pags. 200 per month.

Not long after fees as regulated by the Court were charged for the work of the Interpreters and they were entitled to the fees so collected.

FEES

	Pags. F.
For interpreting special affidavit per folio ..	0 - 8
For interpreting ordinary affidavits as of Jurisdiction, of Debt, of Service of Process or Notice, each ..	0 - 8 1 - 2
For interpreting answers and depositions per folio ..	0 - 8
For every oath administered ..	1 - 2
For translation of Papers per folio ..	0 - 22

There were also interpreters to the Judges and to the Grand Jury. Sometimes one or the other of the Court Interpreters functioned as such for an additional fee. Ere long only one Interpreter for Malabar and Gentoo came to function both for the Civil and Crown side.

Mr. C. Runganaudum, Interpreter for Malabar and Gentoo languages from 1787 to 1814 applied in 1806 to Government for the grant of a village on Shrotriem tenure upon the plea of his long and honest service. Sir Thomas Strange, C.J., recommended the application. The Government declined to make any such grant, as it seemed to them contrary to principles. On September 25, 1827 Mr. I. L. Heefke, French, Dutch and German Interpreter, who had put in a service of 33 years and worked successively in the Mayor's, Recorder's and Supreme Courts, resigned because of "nervous debility and infirmity of age."

The lists between 1829 and 1833 disclose interpreters for the following languages :—

- i. Malabar and Gentoo. Salary 25 Pags for the Civil Side and 25 Pags for the Crown Side, besides salary for being Interpreters to the Judges.

- ii. Canarese. 15 Pags.
- iii. Persian and Hindoostani. 40 Pags.
- iv. French. 5 Pags.
- v. Dutch. 5 Pags.
- vi. Armenian. 30 Pags.
- vii. Portuguese. 8 Pags.
- viii. Mallialam and Mopilla. 30 Pags.
- ix. Malay. 15 Pags.

Besides this salary, the Interpreters had their fees for attending upon the Examiner.

The necessity for having a Deputy Interpreter for Malabar and Gento was felt in 1836. The Hon'ble Sir R. Comyn in making the appointment observed :

"It not infrequently happens that the presence of two Interpreters is required in Court at the same instant, one to interpret the Tamil evidence of a witness to the Court, the other to explain to the prisoner the evidence in case his language be Teloogoo or *vice versa*."

From 1838 to 1842 there was a move on the part of the government to credit the fees collected in the Supreme Court to Government and pay the officers of Court by fixed monthly salary instead of the fees. On May 21, 1838 the Hon'ble the Judges propose the fixing of the salaries of Interpreters as follows :—

	Rupees per annum.
1. Tamil and Teloogoo	8400
2. Tamil, Teloogoo and Canarese	2400
3. Persian and Hindoostance	4800
4. Armenian	1592
5. French	360
6. Dutch	360
7. Portuguese	600

Though in the same letter their Lordships suggest the abolition of the post of Malialam and Malay Interpreters, "these languages being of very rare occurrence", the former post is on record even in 1851. The President in Council were averse to this large expense. In 1843 the Law Commission recommended the reduction of salaries.

Side by side with the Supreme Court at Madras there were established in the various Districts of the Madras Presidency which had by this time (1801) taken shape District Munsiff's

Courts, Provincial Courts of Appeal and District Courts manned by Civil servants of the East India Company. The law administered was based on Regulations framed by the Government from time to time. The highest court of appeal was the Sudder Adawlut Court located at the Sudder Gardens, Madras. The courts in which the criminal law was administered in these territories were known as the Foujdari Adawlut. A beautiful summary of the working of these courts is given by Mr. Cowell in his book on the "History and Constitution of the Courts and Legislative Authorities in India."

The year 1858 saw the end of the rule by the East India Company and the assumption of power by the British Crown. In 1862 the High Court was established amalgamating the Supreme Court—The King's Court—and the Sudder Courts—The Company's Courts. The High Court's jurisdiction was divided into the Original and Appellate Jurisdiction. The Original Side continued the practice from the Supreme Court. The Appellate Side adopted the Sudder Court practice and took over the administrative control over the provincial courts. The memorandum of distribution of work in the Departments dated 24-3-1859 speaks of Interpreters on the Original Side and the Appellate Side. The establishment employed on the Original Side consisted of one Head Interpreter and two Interpreters. In addition to their duties of interpreting in open Court they were expected to translate papers required by Attorneys or Solicitors. The establishment on the Appellate side consisted of 4 Interpreters, apparently taken over from the Sudder Court. Their duties consisted in making themselves acquainted with the contents of the records of appeals before the day appointed for hearing and being ready to furnish any information at the hearing. As a rule, they were expected to translate important documents in any record, which were likely to be called for at the hearing. They had also to be careful to see that the Respondents had been duly served with notice. Four days before the date of hearing a copy of the printed paper (in Civil appeals) used to be sent to each of the sitting judges and a copy of the printed paper together with the record of the suit used to be sent to the Interpreter's Department. With the formation of the Translation and Printing Department and the Bench Clerks Department, the Interpreters on the Appellate Side went out of the picture. Bench Clerks on the Appellate Side are now invariably persons, who had previously worked as Translators in one or other of the native languages.

The Interpreters on the Original Side continue right up to date. After the passing of the Indian Oaths Act in 1879 they have also been made Commissioners for oaths, and the Braminy disappears. To the Interpreters were attached some Translators to translate along with them documents filed on the Original Side. They were absorbed into the Translation and Printing Department, Appellate Side, shortly after the Waller Committee Report in 1925.

The strength of the Tamil and Telugu Interpreters was increased from time to time. In 1906 the High Court appointed a temporary Assistant Interpreter in addition to a Chief and a Deputy Interpreter already existing. In 1916 when there was increase in the volume of work, the number was increased to five by appointing one more Deputy and another Assistant Interpreter. Since 1934 there are only a Chief Interpreter and two Junior Interpreters in addition to a Guzerati and a Hindustani Interpreter.

The Interpreter has to explain to every party, who is unable to read and write English, every proceeding which is required under the rules to be verified, sworn or affirmed. In other cases, he has to swear to affidavits intended to be filed into court. He has also to translate all documents filed into court in cases to be heard on the Original Side. Now-a-days he is also to do all other work sent to him by the other Departments under orders. The most difficult part of his duties consists in interpreting evidence *viva voce* in open court, because the very foundation of the administration of justice is based upon correct interpretation of evidence (Letter by J. D. Norton to the Governor in Council, Fort St. George, dated 15th August 1843). "The Interpreter", says Sir Thomas Strange, "should be a man of integrity, general talent and practical acquaintance with the business of the court and one who should take a delight in that work and be perfectly competent to interpret in court *viva voce* in the particular language." (Letter dated 10th February 1803).

In his book "The King's Coroner", Mr. R. H. Wellington directs the Interpreter to "translate question and answer word by word." Any one may think that the interpretation would lose nothing by a little variation. Any one who takes the trouble to try the experiment will, I think, be of opinion that any alteration in the order of words or events would either alter the sense intended to be conveyed or make it less easy of apprehension or less pointed in expression.

"It is most essential that all questions and answers be framed in the clearest and most straight-forward language," say Pollock

and Maitland in the History of English Law. Questions may, except in a few instances, be well worded by counsel. As for answers the witness as a rule never answers questions direct. Here starts the Interpreter's difficulty. It becomes more difficult for him when he has to deal with one or more of the twenty-one types of witnesses mentioned by Mr. Harris in his book "Hints on Advocacy". Shall we add to that list of Mumbling witnesses ? Deaf witnesses, of course, form a class by themselves. Looked at from another standpoint, *viz.*, the capacity of understanding of the witnesses, the Interpreter would have to rise or descend to the mental level of the witnesses according as they are Ignorant, Illiterate, Literate, Simple, Innocent, Rustic, Perverted, Prevaricating or Obtuse.

It is a calling, in which success is impossible to the weak or timid. The Interpreter should be diligent, able alike to assist the Judge and to protect the suitor and capable of giving useful aid in the administration of justice. That is what the oath he takes at the time of appointment enjoins him to do :

" You swear that you are well skilled in the ----- and English languages and that you will faithfully interpret between the witness and the court. So help you God."

This was the form introduced in 1801. The present form, slightly modified, can be found in the Original Side Rules.

No ordinary degree of skill and discernment is required to distinguish accurately between the embarrassment which arises from constitutional timidity and that which is produced by a consciousness of dishonesty or between the coolness and steadiness of truth and the assumed confidence of falsehood. Diplomas may show that one can converse with his own College Moonshee and perhaps with some of his own servants, who have become accustomed to his phraseology ; but it no more follows that he can converse with the country people or understand the witnesses, who come before the court. The office might at first be awkwardly discharged. It is practice that is after all required to arrive at any perfection. The first rudiment in every science is difficult ; the first rules in arithmetic distract the beginner ; but everything yields to application.

The difficulty of the position occupied by an Interpreter will be apparent when one realises that he is the target of the half-English knowing witness in the box, the astute counsel examining him, the alert advocate waiting to cross-examine him, and the

shrewd trial Judge ; at the same time he is watched by the hundred-eyed bar, and the litigant public and an experienced jury. It is an intimidating thought. An error committed will effectually impair the efficiency of the Interpreter and excite in the public mind a feeling of dissatisfaction difficult to eradicate.

All said and done interpretation in court is a peculiar gift. Very few possess the ability needed for that art—difficult indeed—to be able to win the unique praise of the judges, the bar and the litigant public. No wonder then that the first Chief Justice of Madras described the office of the Interpreter “a public station of no inconsiderable delicacy and importance” (1806). One may even be able to make a name but it has now been made impossible for him to get out of the blind alley.

For some time past there has been a talk of abolishing the Original Side. That done, the Interpreter will disappear. But he is bound to continue in the trial courts taking the place of the Original Side, whatever be the name given, for the lingua franca of India and the local vernaculars, if not any more for English, a note of warning against the abolition of which as the court language has been struck by Sir H. J. Kania, Chief Justice of India, in his recent address before the Advocates' Association, Madras. There is at present a move to increase the institution fee, etc., on the Original Side. If that is accomplished and more stamp duty were coming in, it may be the Original Side may continue and with it the Interpreter.

. Pattai Grant of Vēṅkaṭa-pati-dēva Mahārāya I, of Śaka 1508

BY

PANDIT V. V. SHARMA, *Vidyābhūṣāṇa*,
Lecturer, University College, Trivandrum.

The subjoined grant is edited from a set of copper-plates. As I was able to read the grant, the preparation of inked estampages of the plates, was not needed.

The copper-plates on which the grant is incised are five in number. These plates belong to the *Vāsudēvapperumāl* temple at Pattai village, Nāṅgunēri taluq, Tirunelvēli district. I was able to get them on loan by kind courtesy of Śrī H. Ramaier, Village Munsiff of the said village.

In the curved upper part of each of these plates, is a round hole, through which the binding ring passes a seal is also attached to the ring. The ring was cut when the plates were handed over to me for examination. The seal bears on it the representation of a boar facing the proper left side, the sun and the moon and a dagger or a sword. To the proper left of this hole and on the first side of each plate, is marked the number of the plate in *Telugu-Kannada* numerals. The plates three and four are inserted as four and three. The pagination is made in *Grantha* script also which seems to be a later addition. The rims of the plates are raised to protect the writing from damage.

Of these plates the first and the last are carved only on the inner sides, i.e., the first plate is engraved on the second side, and the last one is on its first side only, and the remaining three, on both sides. The space covered by the writing measures $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{8}''$ on each plate, while the size of the individual letter varies from $\frac{1}{3}''$ to $\frac{1}{5}''$. The alphabet of the record is *Nandināgarī* (*Bāla-bindu*), with the exception of the 'Sign-manual' of the king, the word "Śrī-Vēṅkaṭēśa" at the end, which is in the *Kannada-Telugu* script.

The solitary word Śrī-Vēṅkaṭēśa is used as their signature, by the kings of the third *Vijayanagara* dynasty, and it is generally inscribed in the *Telugu-Kannada* characters.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit-verses in various metres. The inscription contains 115 Sanskrit verses in 180 lines and opens with an invocation to the God Śrī-Vēṅkaṭēśa in prose.

Verses 32 and 33 give the date of the grant, which was the twelfth *tithi* (*utthāna-dvādaśī*) of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika, in the Śaka year reckoned by “*vasu-vyōma-kalam-*
bēndū”, i.e. the *vasu* (eight), the *vyōma*, i.e. the sky (cipher), the *kalamba*, i.e. the arrows (five) and the *indu* i.e., the moon (one) = 1508, the cyclic year being *vyaya*. The date corresponds to A.D. 1586.

The *Dalavāy Agrahāram Plates* are also dated the Śaka year 1508, computed by the moon, the arrows, the sky and the *vasus*, which corresponds to the cyclic year *vyaya*, and inform us that on the *utthānadvādaśī-tithi* of the bright half of the month Kārttika, of the said year, Vēṅkaṭapatiḍēva-mahārāya, granted, at the request of Vīra-bhūpa, the village of *Gangavarapati*, under the name of Vīra-bhūpa-samudram, to a number of Brāhmaṇas, and the grant was made in the presence of God Vēṅkaṭēśa of Tirupati.

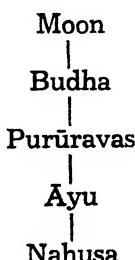
The copper-plates have the shape common to all inscribed plates bearing the deeds of grants made by the kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty of the period, to which this set also belongs. The preservation of the inscription is very good.

There is nothing peculiar in the orthography of the inscription which requires particular care. All the faults usual in the other documents of the Vijayanagara kings are also found in this; for example, the use of the *anusvāra* for the *varga-pañcama*, *sa* for *śa*, and *ṣa* etc.

The inscription was composed by *Kṛṣṇa-kavi-kāmakōti*, grandson of *Sabhāpati*, and engraved by *Vīraṇa-mahācārya*, son of *Ganapaya*.

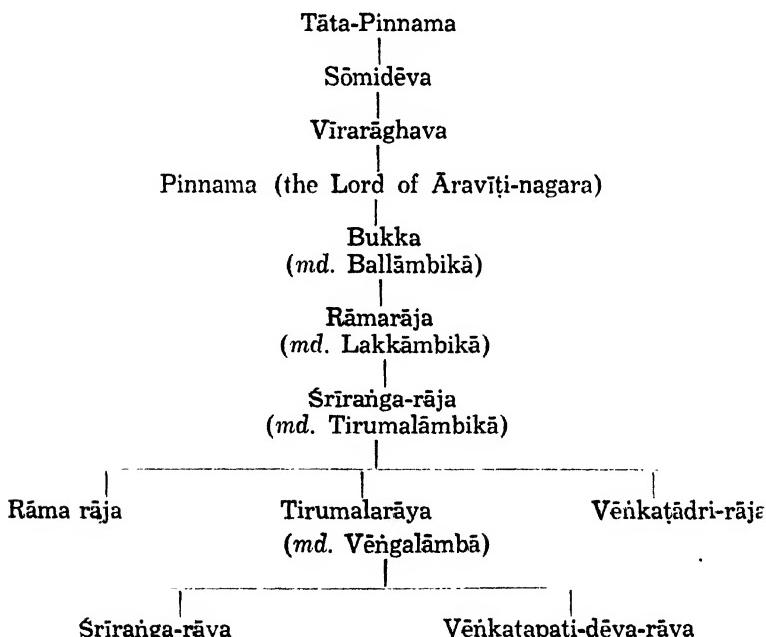
The Grant closes with the usual imprecatory verses and the ‘sign-manual’ of the king.

The grant belongs to the reign of the king Vēṅkaṭapatiḍēva-mahārāya. According to this record his genealogy is traced from the Moon as follows —





The historical portion of the genealogy begins from this Tāta-Pinnama and is as follows —



The exploits of each of these kings are given in the document in some detail :—

Sōmidēva. He is represented as having taken seven forts from his enemies in a single day. (v. 7).

Pinnama. He is described as the Lord of *Aravīdu* (v. 8).

Bukka. He is the son of Pinnama. He is reported to have established Sāluva-Nṛsiṁha firmly on the throne. (v. 8).

Rāna-rāja I. He was a great devotee of Viṣṇu, and through His grace he got over the effects of poison administered to him by his *jñātis* in the fort of *Kaṇḍanavōludurga*, which he had just then taken after defeating Sapāda at the head of an army consisting of 70,000 horses, and taking from him the *Avani-giridurga* (this should be *Advanigiri-durga*) driving off with him Kāsapp-*Udaya*. (vv. 11 and 12).

Tirumalarāya. Of the three sons of Śrī-raṅga-rāja, the middle one, Tirumala-mahārāya, having routed his enemies in battles, was anointed to the throne, and like Viṣṇu, the middle member of the Hindu Trinity (being the middle one among the sons of Śrī-raṅga-rāja, he is compared to Viṣṇu among the Hindu Trinity or *Tri-mūrtis*), protected the kingdom. This king performed again and again all the *mahādānas* such as *kanaka-tulā-puruṣa* and the *upadānas*, in such holy places as *Kūncī*, *Śrirāṅga* etc., and in all important places of pilgrimage and holy *tīrthas*. (v. 18).

Śrī-raṅga-rāya II. His son Śrī-raṅga-rāya being stationed in *Uddagiri*, conquered the forts of *Koṇḍa-vīḍu*, *Vinikonḍapura* etc. and began to reign in *Penugonda*. He had emblems such as the *makara*, as signs of royalty (v. 20). The great gifts which this king made on the occasion of his coronation permanently removed poverty from poor people. (v. 21).

Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-mahārāya. After him ascended the throne his brother Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-mahārāya, also born to the same mother Vēṅgalāmbā. Just as Rāma was anointed by *Vasiṣṭha* his family priest, Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-rāya's coronation was performed by the learned Tātayāra, his *gōtra-guru*. Having conquered the Yavanas, he ruled the earth. (vv. 23 & 24). He defeated *Mahamandasāhu*, the son of *Malikibharāma*, in battle, and during the course of the war, the latter used to return home every day after losing his elephants, horses, weapons and umbrella. (v. 25). Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-mahārāya was extolled by the kings of the Kāmboja, Bhōja, Kāliṅga, Karahāta and other countries, waiting at the entrance of his palace (v. 31). Having

obtained the throne of *Karnāta*-kingdom by the prowess of his arms, and defeating his enemies, Vēnkāta-pati-dēva-rāya ruled the earth from the Himalayas to Sētu (*Rāmēśvaram*). (v. 32).

On the said date, the grant was made by Vēnkātapati-dēva-rāya, in the presence of God Vēnkātēśa, evidently on the *Tirumala hill*, to a large number of Brāhmaṇas well-versed in *Vedas* and *sāstras* and of different *gōtras*, *śākhas* etc., at the request of Vīra-bhūpati of the *Kāsyapa-gōtra*, the then Nāyaka king of Madura, at the instance of his son Kumāra-kṛṣṇa-bhūpati, who was very much interested in the grant.

The genealogy of the Nāyaka-kings of Madura, as gathered from this record may be presented as follows —

Viśvanātha-nāyaka	
Kṛṣṇa-bhūpati I	
(md. Laksmyambikā)	
Vīra-bhūpati	
(md. Tirumalāmbikā)	

(Constructed a *manṭapa* in front of the shrine of *Sundara-Nāyaka* and presented *Mīnākṣī* with a jewelled *kavaca* and made arrangements for the due performance of daily rituals in the temple).

Kṛṣṇa-mahīpati II	
(Kumāra-kṛṣṇa-bhūpa)	

Vīra-bhūpati was the son of Kṛṣṇa. He constructed a sculptured *manṭapa* in front of the shrine of *Sundarēśa*, the presiding deity of Mathurā, gave the goddess *Mīnākṣī* a golden *kavaca* set with jems, and instituted daily *pūjas*. He also founded *agrahāras* for the exclusive use of Brāhmaṇas well-versed in *sāstras* and bestowed villages on them in perpetuity. He was so good as to attract Brāhmaṇas even from other countries to seek the benefit of his munificence, which can be seen from the list of villages from which came the Brāhmaṇa donees of this grant.

The object of the grant was the village (*grāma*) called *Śrīpartti-kulaśekharanallūr*, surnamed *Kṛṣṇa-samudra*. It was granted at the request of king Virabhūpati (the then Nāyaka-king of Madura), according to the wish of his son prince Kumāra-Kṛṣṇa-bhūpa, by Vēnkātapati-dēva-mahārāya of the *Ātrēya-gōtra* to a number of Brāhmaṇas of various sects, well-versed in *Vēdas* and *sāstras*.

The village was divided into sixty-three shares or *vṛttis* (that is why the village is mentioned as *kalāgrāma*). All the shares are conferred on deserving Brāhmaṇas, the first two shares, being bestowed on the village deities (*grāma-dēvas*) Śiva and Viṣṇu.

The village was situated in the *Vānava-nādu* sub-division of *Tiruvadī-rājya*, at the end of *Kalakkādu*, in the empire of Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-mahārāya, to the east of palm-grove yards of well-known (*Sambagha*) *rāma*, and the well-known lands of *Kaliyugamaiyyā-pillai* and the (*paravilātarvādaśa*) *kanṇāru*; to the south of *Pac-cāru* river; to the west of the *Paṇḍitan-kuruucci-grāma*; and to the north of the well-known canal (which is not named).

The village *Śrī-paritti-kulaśekharanallūr*, the object of the grant, includes fertile lands having sixty-three standard measures (*mā*), (besides the fields of *Periyapārvellakula*, *tūlakṣētra* and a fine *taṭāka*), which is stated in the following manner — (vv. 39-43).

- (a) The lands having fifteen standard measures (*pañca-daśamā*) in the *kokkarapalākā*;
- (b) the lands having six standard measures (*ṣaṇmā*) in the *Ālamkulaparavilāgha*;
- (c) the lands having three and four standard measures (*traya-catur-mā*) in *Śeṭtipatta*;
- (d) the lands having five standard measures (*pañcu-mā*) in the *Kalittamma-pille-taṭāka*; and
- (e) the *khaṇḍa*-lands having thirty standard measures (*trim-śan-mā*).

These sixty-three standard measures of lands might have enabled the prince Kumāra-Kṛṣṇa-bhūpa in dividing the village into sixty-three shares or *vṛttis*.

The present name of the village is *Pattai*.

The terms of the grant are the same as those used in similar records of this dynasty and embrace every kind of proprietary right, including immunity from all taxes and unhampered powers of enjoyment and alienation in perpetuity.

From the list of donees it would seem that most of the donees were residents of *Telugu*-country and had either already migrated into the *Tamil*-country or had come down to the south at the invitation of the doner.

The text of the grant can be divided into five parts in the following manner —

PART I. VERSES 1-31½.

After the invocation to the gods, the genealogy of the kings of the third *Vijayanagara* dynasty up to Vēṅkaṭa-pati-dēva-mahārāya, is described.

PART II. VERSES 32-46½.

The village *Śrī-partti-kulaśekharanallūr*, the object of the grant, is described.

PART III. VERSES 47-63.

Praise of Vira-bhūpati, with the description of the genealogy of the Nāyaka-kings of Madura, who, at the instance of his son, prince Kumāra-Kṛṣṇa-bhūpati, requested Vēṅkaṭa-pati-dēva for the grant of the village, which was granted accordingly, and effected by Kumāra-Kṛṣṇa-bhūpa.

PART IV. VERSES 64-107.

List of donees.

PART V. VERSES 108-115.

Statement of the fact that the grant was made under orders of king Vēṅkatapati-dēva. Name of the composer of the text of the grant and the engraver on copper-plates.

Conclusion.

METRES.

- (1) *Anuṣṭup*—1-4, 29½, 30½, 32½, 33½, 34½, 35 (half-verse), 36-46, 46½ (half-verse), 49 (half-verse), 50-107, 110-114.
- (2) *Sārdūlavikṛīdita*—5, 7, 23, 25, 26, 31½, 48½.
- (3) *Sragdhārā*—6, 18.
- (4) *Rathōddhatā*—8, 28.
- (5) *Vasantatilakā*—9, 14, 47½.
- (6) *Prthvī*—10, 15, 21, 24.
- (7) *Śikhariṇī*—11, 17.
- (8) *Śailaśikhā*—12, 20.
- (9) *Indravajrā*—13.
- (10) *Mālinī*—16.
- (11) *Upajāti*—19, 22, 27.
- (12) *Āryā*—28½ (half-verse), 108, 109.
- (13) *Śālinī*—115.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Invocation of God Vēṅkaṭēśa.

- Verse 1. Adoration to Śrī-Rāma's feet.
2. Adoration to Viṣvaksēna.
3. Adoration to Varāha (*Viṣṇu*).
4. Invocation of the Moon, born from the ocean of milk.

- 5-7. From the Moon came in regular succession Budha, Purūravas, Āyu, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, and Puru. In this family was born the king Bharata and in his lineage Śantanu; the fourth after Śantanu was Vijaya (Arjuna); his son was Abhimanyu; his son was Parikṣit, the eighth in descent from Parikṣit was Nanda, the ninth from Nanda was Calikka; Rājanarēndra was the seventh from Calikka; the tenth from Rājanarēndra was Bijjalēndra; the third from him was Vīrahemunālī-rāya, the lord of Māyāpurī; and the fourth from him was Tāta-pinnama. To Tāta-pinnama was born Sōmidēva, who took from his enemies, in the course of a single day, seven forts. To Sōmidēva, was born Vīrarāghava-dēva, and to the latter, Pinnama.
8. The son of Pinnama, the lord of Āravīti-nagara, was Bukka-rāja; he consolidated the kingdom of Sāluva-Nṛsiṁha.
- 9-10. Bukka-rāja married Ballāmbikā; to them was born a son named Rāma-rāja.
- 11-14. The Prince Rāmarāja conquered the army of Sapāda, consisting of seventy thousand horses and took from him the fort of *Avanigiri-durga*, driving away Kāsapp-Odeya. This king, who was a great devotee of Viṣṇu, took the fort of *Kaṇḍana-vōli-durga* by the prowess of his arms; here he was poisoned by his relations which did no harm to him. He had a queen named Lakkāmbikā. A son named Śrīraṅga-rāja was born to them.
- 15-16. The name of the queen of Śrīraṅgarāja was Tirumalāmbikā. Tirumalāmbikā is praised. By her, he had three sons, Rāma-rāja, Tirumalarāya and Vēṅkaṭādri.
17. Tirumala-mahārāya, the middle one among the three sons of Śrīraṅga-rāja having defeated his enemies and being anointed king, protects the earth like Viṣṇu among the *Trimūrtis*.
18. This king performed frequently all the *dānas* mentioned in the *āgamas*, such as the *kanaka-tulā-puruṣa* and the *upadānas*, in the temples at Kāncī, Śrīraṅga etc., and at the sacred *tīrthas*.
- 19-21. Śrīraṅgarāja, the son born to Tirumalarāya by Vēṅgalāmbā, who residing at Uddagiri conquered the forts of Konda-

vīdu, *Vinikōṇḍa-pura* and other forts and making *Penugōṇḍa* his capital, ruled in splendour with all insignia of royalty such as the *makara*, etc. By the gifts made by this king at the time of coronation, poverty was completely wiped out among good men.

- 22-23. After Śrīraṅgarāja had reached the region of *Viṣṇu* (i.e. died) his brother Vēṅkaṭa-pati-dēva-rāya, born of the same mother Vēṅgalāmbā, ascended the throne and ruled the earth with justice.
24. Just as *Rāma* was crowned by *Vasiṣṭha*, conquered the *Rākṣasas* and governed the world, this king was anointed by the learned Tātayārya, defeated the *yavanas* (Mussalmans) and ruled the earth.
25. Mahamanda-sāhu, i.e., Muhammad Shah, the son of Maliki-bharāma, i.e. Malik Ibrahim, being defeated repeatedly by the army of this king, used daily to return dejected from the battle-field after being deprived of his elephants, horses, arms, and umbrella.
- 26-30. Description of Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-rāya's reign.
31. The kings of the Kāmbōja, Bhōja, Kāliṅga, Karahāṭa etc., used to stand at the gate of this king and praise him.
32. Having made, by the power of arms, the throne of *Karnāṭa* his own and after conquering all his enemies living in the region between *Sētu* and the *Himādri*, Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-rāya ruled the kingdom in joy.
- 33-63. In the Śaka year 1508 (counted by *indu* = 1, *kalamba* = 5, *vyōma* = 0, and *vasu* = 8) which corresponds to the (cyclic) year *vyaya*, on the *utthāna-dvādaśi-tīthi* of the bright half of the month *Kārttika*, in the holy presence of the God Śrī-Vēṅkaṭēśa, the village Śrīpartti-kulaśekhara-nallūr, surnamed *Kṛṣṇa-samudra*, was granted, together with all kinds of enjoyments, to a number of Brāhmaṇas of various *śākhās*, and *gōtras*, well-versed in *Vēdas* and *sāstras*, with privileges of free disposal, mortgage and sale, by Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-mahārāya, at the request of Vira-bhūpati (the then Nāyaka-king of Madura), who was induced by his son Kumāra-Kṛṣṇa-bhūpati, for making such a grant.

The village is situated in the *Tiruvadī-rājya* in *Vānavanāḍu*, at the end of *Kaḷakkāḍu*, of which the boundaries are mentioned in detail. The village is praised.

The genealogy of the Nāyaka-kings of Madura is given as follows — In the family of king Viśvanātha, Vīra-bhūpati was born. Vīra-bhūpati built in front of the shrine of *Sundara-nāyaka*, a *maṇṭapa* having pillars of rare workmanship; he also presented the Goddess *Mīnākṣī* with a *kavaca* (body-cover) made of gold and set with rare gems. He also made arrangements for the due performance of daily *pūja*-services in the temple. He performed *mahādānas* such as *brahmāṇḍa*, *viśvacakra* etc. Vīra-bhūpati is praised. His queen was Tirumalāmbikā. Their son was Kumāra-kṛṣṇa-bhūpa (who requested his father Vīra-bhūpati, to make a request to Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-mahārāya for the grant of the said village). Kumāra-Kṛṣṇa-bhūpa, is praised. Vīra-bhūpati of the *kāśyapa*-race, was the grandson of Viśvanātha-mahipāla. He was the son of Kṛṣṇa-bhūpati and his queen Lakṣmyambikā. The grant of the village, made by Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-mahārāya before the God Śri-Vēṅkaṭeśa (at Tirumala Hill) was effected by Kumāra-Kṛṣṇa-bhūpa, who bestowed the village (*kalā-grāma*) having 63 shares of *vṛttis*, on a number of learned Brāhmaṇas.

64-107. The following is a list of the donees, with their names, lineage, *sākhas*, *gōtras* and the number of shares bestowed on each —

Name of donee	Lineage	Śākhā	Gotra	No. of shares or vṛttis
1. Śambhu (the village diety)	—	—	—	
2. Viśnu (the village diety)	—	—	—	
3. Adhyāpaka (Vedic teacher of the village)	—	—	—	
4. Tippā-bhaṭṭa	Son of Bhavā-nyārya of Bodḍapāti	Yajus	Kaundinya	
5. Liṅga-bhaṭṭa	Son of Sūri-bhaṭṭa of Tādikādapa	Yajus	Hārīta	two
6. Viṭṭi-bhaṭṭa	Son of Sarvā-bhaṭṭa of Śrimanda	Yajus	Kutsa	
7. (ku)la-bhaṭṭa	Son of Peru-bhaṭṭa of Odḍiya	Bahvṛca	Bhāradvāja	
8. Kālappaya	Son of Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa of (Ja)lakala	Yajus	Vādhūla	one
9. Sarvā-bhaṭṭa	Son of (Kailāsagala)-bhaṭṭa	Yajus	Kaundinya	

Name of donee	Lineage	Śākhā	Gōtra	No. of shares or vr̄ttis
10. Vēṅkātādri-bhatta	Son of Vēḍāntasārī-Śīdhara-bhatta	Yajus	Bhāradvāja	one
11. Mahēśvara	Son of Tippā-bhaṭṭa of Tūḍipallī	Yajus	Kauśika	one
12. Sudarśana-bhatta	Son of Tirukkāmēśvara maniśin	Yajus	Bhāradvāja	one
13. Dattātrēya	Son of Viramī-bhaṭṭa of Pāndaṅgi	Yajus	Ātrēya	two
14. Yajñanārāyana-bhaṭṭa	Son of Vēdamappalaya-bhatta	Yajus	Kāśyapa	two
15. Puruṣottama-bhaṭṭa	Son of Kailāsaya	Yajus	Kapila	two
16. Rāmā-bhatta of Kāravi	Son of Śrīnivāsa-bhatta	Yajus	Bhāradvāja	one
17. Rāma-candra-sūri	Son of Rāmā-bhatta of Kāravi	Yajus	Bhāradvāja	one
18. Candarśekhara-bhatta	Son of Bhāskarārya of Ālakalam	Yajus	Vādhūla	one
19. Rāghavārya	Son of Vēṅkata-bhatta of Ālakala	Yajus	Vādhūla	one
20. Kēśava-bhatta	Son of Aghantailādh-varin	Yajus	Vādhūla	one
21. Allam-bhatta of Yadabala	Son of Parvata-bhatta	Yajus	Ātrēya	one
22. Sudarśana	Son of Vyāsa-bhatta of Kōravi	Yajus	Bhāradvāja	one
23. Śaṅkara-bhatta	Son of Sūri-bhatta of Tādikadapa	Yajus	Hārīta	one
24. Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭa	Son of Virūpāksa of Kārū	Yajus	Kauśika	one
25. Vasavā-bhatta		Yajus	Kauśika	one
26. Śripamrāpaṇḍita		Yajus	Kauśika	one
27. Śrīvatsa-Yarru-bhatta	Son of Śrī-Kṛṣṇam-bhaṭṭa of Penugonda	Yajus	Kauśika	one
28. Liṅga-bhaṭṭa		Yajus	Kauśika	one
29. Viṭṭhalā-bhāgavata of Kappa (lvāl)	Son of Rāghavārya	Yajus	Bhāradvāja	one
30. Appayārya	Son of (Tulasī)valla-bhārya of Kammarikam	Yajus	Bhāradvāja	one
31. Kondā-jyauti-śīka	Son of Timimājyauti sīka of Su(dana)krānta	Yajus	Kaundinya	one
32. Tāṭayārya	Son of Raṅgarāmānuja	Yajus	Viṣṇu-vardhana (Vārdhusi?)	one
33. Yallājiyajvan	Son of Naraharyārya	Yajus		

Name of donee	Lineage	Sākhā	Gōtra	No. of shares or vṛttis
34. Vēṅkaṭācārya of Pāraṅgi	Son of Laksmana-bhaṭṭa	Yajus	Gārgya	one
35. Raṅganātha	Son of Rāmā-bhaṭṭa of Pellaguḍi	Sāman	Vāsistha	one
36. Rāmā-bhaṭṭa	Son of Vallam-bhaṭṭa of Unnaladeva	Bahvrcā	Bhāradvāja	one
37. Vēṅkaṭādri	Son of Nārāyanārya of Kāṭtamūri	Yajus	Kāsyapa	one
38. Saṅgayaśaukalya	Son of Vittaya of Paidāla	Yajus	Kaundinya	one
39. Sōma-bhaṭṭa of Brāhmaṇa-pallī	Son of Sarvadanta-Yajvēndra	Rk	Śrivatsa	one
40. (Duconarnāri) of Vanappalam	Son of Śrī-Virama-rāja	Rk.	Kāmakāyana	one
41. Appāri-bhatta	Son of Appalama (sā) of Chintakunta		Viśvāmitra	one
42. Appalayārya	Son of Kōndubhaṭṭa of Gaḍulu	Yajus	Gārgya	one
43. Ananta-bhaṭṭa	Son of Tirumalārya of Ganḍu	Yajus	Bhāradvāja	one
44. Vēṅkaṭādhvarin	Son of Padmanābhā-dhvarin of Yadavalli	Yajus	Śrivatsa	one
45. Vaidya-sārvabhauma	Son of Sundararāja		Bhāradvāja	one
46. Parama-svāmin			Parāśara	one
47. Ku(ddu)ppaperumāl of Kunañcēri		Rk.	Kauśika	one
48. Śrivēṅkamudéyā	Son of Yajñeśvarārya	Yajus	Kauśika	one
49. Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa	Son of Tirumala-bhaṭṭa of Annaparti	Yajus	Kauśika	one

In this list only 49 donees having 53 shares or *vṛttis* are enumerated in detail. For the remaining ten shares the donees are not mentioned. But it is generally stated at the end of the list, that the Brāhmaṇas of different gōtras and names are enjoying the remaining shares or *vṛttis*, according to the order bestowed on them by Kṛṣṇa-bhūpa.

108-109. This order of the king Vēṅkaṭapati-rāya was the composition of Kṛṣṇa-kavi-kāmakōṭi, the grand-son of Sabhāpati.

110. The engraving was executed by Viraṇa-mahācārya, son of Gaṇapaya, under orders of Vēṅkaṭa-mahārāya.

111-115. The usual exhortatory and admonitory verses.

SIGN MANUAL, "Śrī-Vēṅkatēśa" (in Telugu-Kannada characters).

NOTES

Tiruvaḍi — is the name applied in inscription as well as in literature, to the king of Travancore. There are five branches, (*pañca-tīruvaḍis*) of the *Tiruvaḍi* line, such as the *Tiruppāppūr svarūpam*, the *Ciravāy svarūpam*, the *Jayatūñganādu svarūpam* etc., which were ruling simultaneously over portions of the *Tiruvaḍi rājyam*.

Kalakkūd — is a town 13 miles south of the Sērmādēvi railway station in Tirunelvēli District, and it was the seat of *Tiruvaḍi* kings.

Kanḍanavōlu — This is the Telugu original of the present 'Kurnool'.

Āravīti — Madras Manual of Administration Vol. III, p. 765, mentions a place named *Āravēdu*, 16 miles WSW from Rayachoṭi in the Cuddapah District.

Uthāna-dvādaśī — the twelfth day in the light fortnight of Kārttikā month, when Viṣṇu rises from his four months' sleep. Also called 'prabōdhinī'.

Calikka — ninth descendant of king Nanda.

Rājanarēndra — Seventh descendant of king Calikka.

Bijjalēndra — tenth descendant of king Rājanarēndra.

Vīra-Hemmāli-rāya. — third descendant of king Bijjalēndra.

Māyāpuriśa — epithet of king Vīra Hemmāli-rāya.

Tāta-Pinnama — fourth descendant of king Vīra-Hemmāli-rāya.

Sōmidēva — Son of king Tāta-pinnama.

Vīra-rāghava-dēva — son of king Sōmidēva.

Pinnama — Son of king Vīrarāghava-dēva, the lord of Āravīti-nagara.

Bukka — Son of king Pinnama.

Sāluva-Nṛsinīha — name of a king, whose country was confirmed to him by Bukka.

Ballāmbikā — name of the queen of Bukka.

Rāma-rāja — Son of Bukka in Ballāmbikā.

Sapāda — name of an enemy-king, who is conquered by Rāmarāja.

Avanigiridurgā — name of a fort conquered by Rāmarāja.

Kāsapp-Odeya — name of a chief, who is driven away by Rāmarāja.

Kandanavōlidurga — name of a fort conquered by Rāmarāja.

Lakkāmbikā — Name of the queen of Rāmarāja.

Śrī-raṅga-rāja I — Son of king Rāmarāja.

Tirumalāmbikā — name of the queen of Śrī-raṅgarāja.

Rāmarāja — the first son of Śrī-raṅgarāja in Tirumalāmbikā.

Tirumalarāya — The second son of Śrī-raṅgarāya in Tirumalāmbikā, who performed *mahādānas* such as *kanaka-tulū-puruṣa* etc. and *upadānas* in many holy places Kāñcī, Śrīraṅga, Śeṣācala (Tirupati), Kanaka-sabhā (*Chidambaram*), Ahobala etc., and in many holy *tīrthas*.

Vēṅkaṭādri — the third son of Śrīraṅgarāja in Tirumalāmbikā.

Vēṅgalāmbā — the name of the queen of king Tirumalarāya.

Śrī-Raṅga-rāja II — the first son of Tirumalarāya in Vengalāmbā.

Uḍḍagiri — name of a place in which Śrīraṅgarāja II was encamping for conquering the *Koṇḍarīdu*, *Vinikōṇḍapura* etc.

Koṇḍarīdu — a city conquered by Śrīraṅgarāja II.

Vinikōṇḍapura — a city conquered by Śrīraṅgarāja II.

Penukōṇḍapura — a city which was made capital by Śrīraṅgarāja II.

Makarādi-lāñchana — the fish etc., which are the emblems of royalty.

Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-rāya — the younger brother of Śrī-raṅgarāja, the second son of Tirumalarāya by Vēṅgalāmbā, the donor of the present grant. The learned Tatayārya was his *guru*. He conquered the Yavanas, especially the chief Muhainūnād Shah, son of Malik Ibrahim. He was the chief of Āravītipura. He had many *birudas* or titles, with which panegyrists used to praise him. He had conquered the kings of Kāmbōja, Bhōja, Kāliṅga, Karahāṭa etc. He made the throne of Karnāṭa his own.

Tatayārya — the name of the *guru* of Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-rāya, who performed the coronation ceremony to Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-rāya.

Yavana — name used for Mussalmans, who were conquered by king Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-rāya.

Malik Ibrahim (Malikibharāmo) — father of Muhammad Shah.

Muhammed Shah (Mahamaṇḍasāḥu) — son of Malik Ibrahim, who was conquered by king Vēṅkaṭa.

Vēṅkaṭadrīśvara — the God Vēṅkaṭeśa of Tirumala hill.

Saka-vatsara — a year of the Saka era. The term śaka is applied to the era of Śālivāhana which commences 78 years after the Christian era.

Vyaya — name of an year among 60 years beginning with *Prabhava*, *Vibhava* etc.

Kārttika — name of the month in which the full moon is near *Kṛttikā* or Pleiades (corresponding to November-December).

• *Vānavanādu* — a country which is in *Tiruvadī*-kingdom.

Pāṇḍitan-kuruucci — name of a village situated to the east of *Śrīpartti-kulaśēkhara-nallūr*. Even now this village exists.

(*Sambagha*) *rāma* — the owner of palm-grove yards, situated to the west of *Śrī-partti-kulaśēkhara-nallūr*.

Kaliyugamaiyyāpiṭṭila — the owner of lands situated to the west of *Śrī-partti-kulaśēkhara-nallūr*.

(*Paravīlātarvadaśa*) *Kāṇvāru* — name of the west boundary of *Śrīpartti-kulaśēkhara-nallūr*.

Paccāru — name of the river known as *Śyāmānadi*, flowing in the northern boundary of *Śrī-partti-kulaśēkhara-nallūr*.

Kokkarapallaku — name of a particular place having some lands fit for cultivation, in the village.

Ālaṅkulam — name of a tank in the village.

Śetṭipatta — name of a place in the village.

Kalittammapille-tatāka — name of a tank in the village.

Periyaparveṭṭakuṭṭam — name of a tank in the village.

Tūlakṣētra — cotton field.

Kṛṣṇa-samudra — surname of the village, *Śrīpartti-kulaśēkhara-nallūr*, which indicates the memory of the father and son of Virabhupati.

Viśvanātha — the Nāyaka-king of Madura, grandfather of Virabhupati, son of Kṛṣṇa-bhūpati I.

Kṛṣṇa-bhūpati I — son of Viśvanātha.

Tirumalāmbā — Queen of Virabhupati.

Lakṣmā (*Lakṣmyambikā*) — queen of Kṛṣṇa-bhūpati I.

Kṛṣṇa-bhūpa II — son of Virabhupati.

Kalāgrāma — surname of the village *Śrīpartti-kulaśēkhara-nallūr*.

Kṛṣṇa-kavi-kāma-kōṭi — composer of the text of the grant, who is the grandson of Sabhāpati.

• *Sabhāpati* — the grand father of Kṛṣṇakavikāmakōṭi, the composer of the text of the grant.

Gaṇapaya — the father of the *Viraṇamahācārya*, the engraver of the grant.

Viraṇamahācārya — the engraver of the grant, son of Gaṇapaya.

Grants similar to the present one such as —

1. *Padmanēri Grant of Vēnkāta I, Śaka Saṁvat 1520*;
2. *Vilapāka Grant*;

3. *Vellāṅguḍi Plates of Vēṅkaṭapati-dēva-mahārāya I, Śaka Saṁvat 1520*;
4. *Kūniyūr Plates of Vēṅkaṭa II*;
5. *Māreḍapallī Grant*;
6. *Dalavāy Agraḥāram plates*:
7. *Arvīlimangalam Plates*: etc., of this king and his successors Vēṅkaṭa II, Raṅga VI etc. are edited and published by many scholars. Vide :

 1. *Epi. Ind.* Vol. XVI; pp. 287-329.
 2. No. 14 of Appendix 'A' in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy (of India)* for 1905-6.
 3. *Lists of Antiquities*. Vol. II; p. 17; No. 111.
 4. *Epi Ind.* Vol. IV; pp. 269 ff.
 5. *Epi. Ind.* Vol. II; pp. 236 ff.
 6. *Ind. Anti.* Vol. XIII; pp. 125 ff. No. 22.
 7. *Ind. Anti.* Vol. XIII; pp. 153 ff.
 8. *Epi Ind.* Vol. XI; pp. 326 ff. No. 34.
 9. *Lists of Antiquities*. Vol. I; p. 315.
 10. *Epi. Ind.* Vol. XII; No. 21 and 38.

TEXT

First Plate

1. ¹Śrivēṅkaṭēśāya namah. Yasya samparkapuṇyēna nārīratnam a-
2. būc chilā. Yad upāsyam sumanasām ² tadvdvam āśrayē [1]. Yasya dviradava-
3. ktrādyāḥ pāriṣadyāḥ paraśsatam. Vighnam nighnanti bhajatām viṣvaksenam ta-
4. m āśrayē [2]. Harēr līlāvarāḥasya dāmṣṭrādaṇḍas sa pātu vah. Hēmādrikalaśā ya-
5. tra ³ dhātrīcchatraśriyam dadhau [3]. Jayati kṣīrajaladhēr jātam savyēkṣaṇam harēḥ. Ālaṁbanam (5)
6. cakorāṇām amarāyuṣkaram mahāḥ [4]. Pautras tasya purūravā budhasutas tasyāyur asyā-
7. tmajas ⁴saṁjajñē nahuśo yayātir abhavat tasmāc ca pūrus sutāḥ. Tadvamśe bharatō babhūva nr-
8. patis tatsantatau śantanus tatturyō vijayōbhimanyur udabhūt tasmāt parikṣit tataḥ [5].

1. Read "vēṅk."

2. Read "tad vastu dvandvam."

3. Read "trī cha."

4. Read "sañja."

9. Nandas tasyāṣṭamōbhūt samajani ⁵ navas tasya rājñāś calik-kakṣmāpas tatsaptamah śrīpa-
10. tirucir abhavad rājapūrvō narēndraḥ. Tasyāśid vijjalēndrō ⁶ daśamayiha nṛpō vīra- (10)
11. ⁷ hēmālirāyat ⁸ tārttiyikō murārau kṛtanatir udabhūt tasya māyāpurīsaḥ [6].
12. Tatturyōjani ⁹ tātapimnamamahipälō nijālōkanatrastāmitragaṇas tatō-
13. jani haran durgāṇi saptāhitāt. Anhaikēna sa ¹⁰ saumidēva-nṛpatis ¹¹ tasyēva
14. jajñē sutō vīrō rāghavadēvarād iti tataḥ ¹² śripimnamōbhūn nṛpaḥ [7]. Āravī-
15. ṭinagarīvibhōr abhūd asya bukkadharanipatis sutah. Yēna sāluvanṛsimharājya- (15)
16. m apy ēdhamānamahasā sthūrikṛtam [8]. Svaḥkāminih ¹³ svata-nukāmītibhir ¹⁴ ākṣipantan.
17. bukkāvanīpatilakō budhakalpaśākhī. Kalyāṇinūm ¹⁵ kamala-nābhayivābdhi-
18. ¹⁶ kamnyām ballāmbikām udavahad bahumānyaśilām [9]. Sutēva ¹⁷ kalaśāmbudhēdvānmura-
19. bhilāśugam mādhavāt kumāram iva ¹⁸ śāṅkarāt kulamahī-bhṛtaḥ kanyakā. ¹⁹ Jayamita-
20. m amaraprabhōr api śacīva bukkādhipāc chrutam jagati ballamālabhata rāmarā- (20)
21. jam sutam [10]. Sahasrais saptatyā sahitam api ²⁰ yarisam-dhujanuṣām sapādasyānikam
22. samiti bhujaśauryeṇa mahatā. Viṣityādattēsmād avanigiri-durgam vibhutayā
23. ²¹ vidhūtēmīdrakāsappōyam api vidrāvyā sahasā [11]. ²² Kam-danavōlidurgam urukam dalada-
24. bhyudayō bāhubalēna yō ²³ bāhatarēṇa vijitya harēḥ. ²⁴ Sam-nihitasya tatra cara-

5. Read "vamas."

15. Read "bha ivā."

6. Read "ma iha."

16. Read "kanyām."

7. Read "hemmā."

17. Read "dhēs sura."

8. Read "yas tā"

18. Read "aṅk."

9. Read "innā."

19. Read "ant."

10. Read "sōmi."

20. Read "yas sindhu."

11. Read "syaiva."

21. Read "ēndraḥ kāsappōdaya."

12. Read "inna."

22. Read "and."

13. Read "kānti."

23. Read "bahuta."

14. Read "antīm."

24. Read "anni."

Second Plate: First side

1. ²⁵ nāmbuṣu bhaktatayā jñātibhir arpitaṁ sudhayati sma
²⁶ niṇīya viṣam [12]. Śrīrā- (25)
2. marājakkṣitipasya tasya ²⁷ cintāmaṇēr arthikadambakānām. Lakṣmīr ²⁸ ivāṁbhōruhaloca-
3. lakkāmbikāmuṣya mahiṣyalāśīt [13]. Tasyādhikais sama-
bhavat tanayas tapōbhī[ḥ] ²⁹ śrīraṁ-
4. garājanṛpatis śāśivamśadipah. Āsan samullasati dhāmanī
yasya citram nētrāṇī vai-
5. risudṛśām ca nirañjanāni [14]. Satīm tirumalāmbikām ³⁰ cari-
talilayārundhatīpathām api
6. titikṣayā vasumatiyaśō rundhatīm. Himāṁsur iva rōhiṇīm
hṛdayahāri-
7. ḥīm sadguṇair amōda[ta] sadharmīṇīm ayam avāpya virā-
graniḥ [15]. Racitanayavicāram rāmarā-
8. jaṁ ca dhīram varatirumalarāyam vēṅkatādrikṣitiśam. Aja-
nayata sa ³¹ yētān ānupūrvyā ku-
9. mārān iha tirumaladēvyām ēva rājā mahaujāḥ [16]. Triṣu
śrīraṅgakṣmāparivṛḍhakumārēśv adhira-
10. ḥam vijyārikṣmāpāṁs tirumalamahārāyanṛpatih. Mahaujās
sāmrājyē sumatir abhiṣi- (35)
11. ktō nirupamē praśāsty urvīm sarvām api tisṛṣu
murtiṣ iva hariḥ [17]. Kaṇcīśrīrangasēṣacala-
12. kanakasabhāhōbalādrīśamukhyēśv āvṛtyāvṛtya sarvēśv atanuta
vidhivad bhūyasē srē-
13. yasē yah. Dēvasthānēśu tīrthēśv api kanakatulāpūruṣādīni
nānādānāny atrōpa-
14. dānair api samam akhilair āgamōktāni tāni [18]. Tasyātmajan-
mā tadanu praśāsa-
15. n mahīm samastām manunitiśāli. Śrīvēṅgalāmbacirapuṇyāra-
śī[ḥ] śrīraṅgarā-
16. jakṣitipas samindhē [19]. ³² Uddagirau sthitāḥ parivijitya ca
durgacayān ³³ durgamakoṁḍa- (40)
17. ³⁴ vīduvinikōṁḍamukhapramukhān. Bhūvalayaikaratnape-
³⁵nugomḍapurē nivasan rājati
18. yas ³⁶ samagramakarādinalāñchanataḥ [20]. Yadhāvidhi mahī-
surottamakṛtābhishēkotsa-

25. Read "su sakta."

31. Read "sa ētān."

26. "niṣevya"?

32. Read "uddā."

27. Read "int."

33. Read "konḍā."

28. Read "canasya."

34. Read "konḍā."

29. Read "raṅg."

35. Read "gonḍā."

30. Read "dhatiprath."

36. Read "dima."

19. vē yađiyakaravāridē kanakavṛṣṭidē sarvataḥ. Yaśomayata-rānginī daśadigam.³⁷
20. tarē jṛimbhatē satām praśamitōbhavat kṛpaṇatōrudāvānalah [21]. Nityā nirastādinṛpē
21. sapatnān samṝtya saṁrakṣitasarvalōkē. Śrīraṅgarāyakṣitipālakēsmīn (45)
22. padam murārēḥ paramam prapannē [22]. Vidvatrāṇaparāyaṇas tadanujō śrīvēṅga-
23. lāmbāpurāpuṇyōtkarsaphalōdayas tirumalaśrīdēvarāyātma-bhūḥ. ³⁸ Saṁtā-
24. drur iva sthitas suragirau sāṁrājyasimhāsanē sarvām śāsti nayēna vēñk.³⁹
25. kaṭapatiśrīdēvarāyē⁴⁰ kṣamām [23]. Yathā ⁴¹ raghukulōdbhavaḥ svayam arundhati-

Second Plate : Second side

1. jāninā svagōtraguruṇā sudhītilakatātayāryēṇa yaḥ. Yathā- (50)
2. vidhi yaśavinā ⁴² viracitābhisekakṣaṇād vibhidya yavanāśarān vi-
3. jayatē praśāsan mahīm [24]. Yasyātiprathitaujasē raṇamu-khē sēnābhaṭai-
4. r udbhaṭais sātōpālīrtasaindhavadvipaghāṭasastraṭapatrādimah. ⁴³ Nirviṇṇāma-
5. likibharāmatanubhūs samprāpya gēham mahair mandas san mahamandasāhur ayatē sārthā-
6. bhidhām ⁴⁴ anvahaḥ [25]. Yasminn aṅgadanirviśēsam akhilām urvīm bhujē bibhrati pṛītā pām⁴⁵
7. nngamīḍalāḍhipakulaksōnībhrtō nirbhārāḥ ⁴⁶ Sēvantē vrṣāśailatām adhigatāḥ śrīvēñk.⁴⁷
8. kaṭadriśvaram [26]. Vārāśigāṁbhīryaviśēṣadhuryah ⁴⁸ śaurā-
9. śidurgaikevihālavaryah.⁴⁹
10. Parāṣṭadigrāyamanahprakāmalhayamkaraś ⁵⁰ Śāringadharāntaraṅgaḥ [27]. Sāravīraramayā samu-
11. llasann āravītipurahāranāyakah. Kuṇḍaliśvaramahābhujaś śra-
- yan maṇḍalikadha-

37. Read "gant."

42. Read "kaḥ kṣa."

38. Read "saṁtānadrū"

43. Read "nñō ma."

39. Read "vēñk."

44. Read "ham."

40. Read "yaḥ kṣa."

45. Read "pan."

41. Read "lōdvahah."

46. Read "rāḥ. Yasmai bhūvalayaikadhūrvahakalām āśaṁsamānāś sadā sēvantē."

47. Read "vēñk"

49. "bhāla (sa ? va) rdah ?"

48. "yaḥ caurāśi ?"

50. Read "yañk."

11. *raṇīvaraḥatām* [28]. Ātrēyagōtrajānām agrasarō bhūbhujām udārayaśāḥ [28½]. Ityā[di]birudai-
12. r vanditatyā nityam abhiṣṭutah. Jayajivēti vādinyā janitāñjali-bandhayā [29½]. Kāmbōja-
13. bhōjakāliṅgakarahaṭādipārthivaiḥ. Pratiḥārapadam prāptaiḥ prastutastutighoṣaṇāḥ [30½].
14. Sōyam nītītādibhūpatitatis sutrāmaśākhi sudhisārthānām bhujatējasā svā-
15. vaśayam⁵¹ karmātaśimhāsanam. Āsētōr api cāhimādri vimatām⁵² saṁhṛtya śāsa-
16. n mudā sarvōrvīm pracakāsti vēṅkaṭapatiśrīdēvarāyāgraṇīḥ. [31½] Śrī || = || Vasuvyōma- (65)
17. kaṭāmbēnduganītē śakavatsarē. Samvatsarē vyayābhikhyē māsi kārttikanā-
18. mani [32½]. Pakṣē valarkṣē puṇyāyām utthānadadvādaśītihau. Śrīvēṅkaṭēśapādā-
19. bjasannidhau śrēyasām nidhau [33½]. ⁵³ Nānāśākhābhidhā-gōtrabhūtēbhyāś śāstra-
20. vittayā. Vikhyātēbhyō dvijātibhyō vēdavidbhyō viśēṣataḥ [34½]. Tanmaṇḍalē
21. tiruvaḍirājyē ca mahitē sthitam [35]. Śrī-kaṭakkāḍusimāyām khyātarām ca
22. navanāḍukē. Śruta[saṅbagha]rāmaśrītālīvrksavanād api [36]. Śrikali-
23. ⁵⁴ yugamaiyyāpīllēstalāc ca pratītigāt. Prācyām [paravilātar-vādasa]

Third Plate : First side

1. kaṇṇārukād varāt [37]. Śripaccārumahānadyās saṁprātam dakṣiṇām diśam.
2. Saṅkētapaṇḍitakurucyākhyagrāmāc ca paścimam [38]. [Khan ? khyā] tānāmikaku-
3. lyāyā uttaratvam upāśritam. Bhāśvaraiḥ⁵⁵ paīcadaśamākṣē-traiḥ kokkarapallakē [39]. (75)
4. Ālaṅkuṭaparavilāghaṣaṇmākṣētrakair api. ⁵⁶ Śeṭṭipattātraya-caturmā-
5. kēdārair manōharaiḥ. [40]. Sarvasasyollasatpañcamākṣētra-pariśōbhīnā. Śrikali-
6. tīttammapilletātākēna ca bhāsvatā [41]. Śrimatperiyapārvella-kulakṣētravarē-

51. Read "yan."

52. Read "tān sa"

53. Read "trasūtrēbhy,"

54. Read "sthāl."

55. Read "pañca."

56. "ttāhvayaca,"

7. na ca. ⁵⁷ Trimśanmākhamṇḍakēdārais tūlakṣētrēṇa cāmuṇā [42]. Taṭākēna manojñēnā-
8. py etair iti samanvitam. Śrīmatkṛṣṇasamudrākhyāṁ aparāṁ samupāśritam [43]. (80)
9. Grāmaṁ śriparītikulaśekharanallūranāmakam. Sarvamānyam catussiṁmā-
10. samyutam ca samantataḥ [44]. Nidhinikṣēpapāśāṇasiddha-sādhyajalānvitam.
11. Akṣiṇyāgāmisamyuktam gaṇabhōjyam sabhūruham [45]. Vā-pīkūpataṭākaiś ca
12. kacchārāmaiś ca samyutam. Putrapautrādibhir bhojyam kramād ācandrataṭarakam. [46].
13. Dānādhāmananavikṛitiyōgyam vinimayōcitam [46½]. Śrīmān upēndrapadabha. (85)
14. ktiviśeṣasāndraśrīviśvanāthanarapālakulābdhicandraḥ. Śrīvira-bhūpa-
15. tilakasthiravaibhavēndras tējōnidhir jayati dānakalāvitandrah [47½]. Śrīma-
16. tsundaranāyakasya mahati śrēyōnidhau sannidhau nānāci-traviśeṣabhūṣi-
17. taśilāstambhollasanmanṭapam. Mīnākṣyāḥ kavacam ca ratna-khacitam haimāni vi-
18. dhāyādhunā pūjāḥ pratyaham uttarā vahati yas sāmrājyam avyāhatam [48½]. Ta-
19. sya dānadhūriṇasya taruṇādityatējasah [49]. Taravārilatā-kōtiṭāṇḍavō-
20. dyajjayāsriyah. Pratiṣṭhayāgrahārāṇāṁ pālitadvijasaṁsadalāḥ [50]. [Sarvārima]
21. ⁵⁸ tibhṛdgarvasarvaiṅkaṣabhujausā. Sāhityarasasāmīrājya-bhōgabhojamahī-
22. bhujā [51]. Samastasumanastōmasarōjōllāsabhāsvatā. Svā-saktidārītöttuṅgaśrīm-⁵⁹
23. gōddhatamahībhṛtā [52]. Mahāgajōdayajuṣā mahāsēnānubhā-vinā. Vīra-
24. bhūmīpatikṣiravārākarasudhāṁsunā [53]. Śrīmattirumalāṁbā-yāś cirapu-
25. nyaphalātmanā. Kāñcanāhāryadhairyēṇa karṇaudāryēṇa dhimatā [54]. Kumāra-
26. kṛṣṇabhūpēna kumārasamatējasā. Vijñāpitasya vinayād ⁶⁰ vimatadhvām-

57 Read “khanḍa.”

58. Read “vaṅk.”

59. Read “śrīg.”

60. Read “ānt.”

Third Plate : Second side

1. tabhāsvataḥ [55]. Kāsyapānvayadipasya śāsvataisvaryasālināḥ. Sarva-
2. dharmarahasyārthaśārvijñanaśōbhinaḥ [56]. Brahmāṇḍa-
viśvacakrādi- (100)
3. mahādānāni kurvataḥ. Viśvanāthamahīpālapautrasya prathitaujasaḥ [57]. Śri-
4. ⁶¹ kṛṣṇanānūpatikṣirasiṁdhūśitalarōciṣaḥ. Suśilalakṣmāgarbha-
śuktamu-
5. ktāphalākṛtēḥ [58]. Virasya vīrabhūpasya vijñaptim anu-
pālayan. Parītaḥ
6. prayatais snigdhaiḥ purōhitapurōgamaiḥ [59]. Vividhair vibu-
dhaiḥ srautapathikair a-
7. dhikair girā. Śrīvīravēṅkaṭapatiṁmahārāyamahīpatiḥ [60].
Sahiranyapa- (105)
8. yōdhārāpūrvvakaiḥ dattavān mudā. ⁶² Kumāraśrajanikānta-
kāntukānta] tamā-
9. kṛtiḥ [61]. Kṛṣṇabhūmipatis sōyaīn khaṇḍitārātibhūpatiḥ.
Triśaṣṭivṛttisam-
10. yuktam kalāgrāmam imam śubham. [62]. Prakhyātāpartti-
kulaśekharanallūranāmakam.
11. Nānāgōtradvijyātibhyō dhārāpūrvam adān mudā [63]. Vṛtti-
mantōtra likhyantē
12. viprā vēdāntapāragāḥ. Śambhavē grāmadēvāya sōmasūryā-
gnicakṣuṣē [64].
13. Divārātramatīrāddhum vṛttir ēkā samarpitā. Bhūmābhīrā-
mapārśvāya
14. grāmadēvāya viśṇavē [65]. Vīdhātum aniśaiḥ pūjām atraikā
vrttir arpita.
15. Adhyāpākāya śiṣṭāya satyācāravidhāyinē [66]. Santatādhī-
tayē vṛtti-
16. r ēkātra parikalpitā. Yājuṣaḥ śribodḍapātībhavānyāryāt-
majaḥ sudhiḥ [67]
17. Tippābhaṭṭōtraikavṛttim ēti kaunḍinyagōtrabhūḥ. Nandanas
tādīkaḍapa- (115)
18. sūribhaṭṭasya yājuṣaḥ [68]. Liṅgabhaṭṭōśnutē vṛtti dvē cātra
haritānvayah.
19. Kutsānvavāyī śrimāṇḍasarvābhaṭṭātmasarībhavaḥ [69]. Vītti-
bhaṭṭō bhavaty ēka-

61. Read " sindhu."

62. Read " kantu " " kandukāntatamā " ?

20. vṛttimān atra yājuṣah. Tanubhūr oḍḍiyakhyātaperubhaṭṭasya bahvṛcaḥ [70].
21. ⁶³ Bhāradvājānvayēm[drō ku]labhaṭṭōtraikavṛttimān. Vādhūlānvayabhū-
22. [jā]lakala bhāskarabhaṭṭajah [71]. Kālappayasudhīr ēka-vṛttimān atra yājuṣah. (120)
23. [Kailāsagalā] bhaṭṭasya sūnuḥ kauṇḍinyagōtrajah [72]. Sarvābhaṭṭō yajuśśākhī
24. vṛttim ēkāṁ ihāśnutē. Bhāradvājānvayō vēdāntaśrīśridhara-bhaṭṭajah [73].
25. Vṛttim ēkāṁ vēnkāṭādribhaṭṭōtrābhyceti yājuṣah. Yājuṣas tūḍipallīśri-
26. tippābhaṭṭatanūdbhavaḥ [74]. Mahēśvarasudhīr ēkavṛttimān kauśikānvayah.

Fourth Plate : First side

1. Bhāradvājānvāyatirukkāmēśvaramanīṣijah [75]. Śrīsudarsana-bhaṭṭō (125)
2. pi yājuṣotraikavṛttimān. Ātrēyagōtrah pāṇḍaṅgivīraimbhattavarātmajah [76].
3. Dattātrēyamanīṣi dvē vṛttir yāty atra yājuṣah. Vēdamappalayabhaṭṭasya ta-
4. nayah kāśyapānvayāḥ [77]. Yājuṣo yajñanārāyaṇabhaṭṭōtra dvivṛttimān.
5. Kapilānvayasambhūtaḥ kailāsayatanūdbhavaḥ [78]. Puruṣottamabhaṭṭōtra vṛtti
6. dvē yāti yājuṣah. Bhāradvājakulaśrinivāsabhaṭṭatanūdbhavaḥ [79]. Kāra-
7. virāmābhaṭṭēndrō yājuṣas tasya nandanaḥ. Rāmachandasūris cōbhau pr-
8. thag ēkaikavṛttikau [80]. Candraśekharabhaṭṭōpy ālakalam bhāskarāryabhūḥ.
9. Rāghavāryāś cālakalavaravēṅkaṭabhaṭṭajah [81]. Dhimān kēśa-abhaṭṭāś cā-
10. ghanṭailādhvarinandanah. Vadhūlagōtrajā yājuṣēndrāś cēkai-kavṛttikāḥ [82].
11. Sūnuḥ parvatabhaṭṭasya varātrēyakulōdbhavaḥ. Yājuṣo yaḍa-balōllāmbha- (135)
12. ttōpy atraikavṛttimān [83]. Kōravivyasabhaṭṭātmajo bhāradvājagōtrabhūḥ.
13. Sudarśanasudhīr ēkavṛttimān atra yājuṣah [84]. Yājuṣas tāḍikadapasū-

⁶³. Read “yēndrō.”

14. ribhattātmasāmbhavaḥ. Hāritānvayaḥ śaṅkarabhaṭṭōtraika-vṛttikāḥ [85]. Kā-
15. rūvirūpākṣagaṅgādharabhaṭṭayājuṣaḥ. ⁶⁴ Vasavābhaṭṭasumati-yajuśśā
16. khāvatām varah [86]. Śrī[painrā] paṇḍitaś cāpi yajusśākhī varas satām. Yāju- (140)
17. ṣendrah khyātāpenugonḍāśrikṛṣṇāmbhaṭṭabhūḥ [87]. Śrī[vat-sayarru] bhaṭṭēndraliṅgambha-
18. ttōtra yājuṣaḥ. Kausikānvayaḥ jāś caitē pr̄thag ēkaikavṛttikāḥ. [88]. Kappa-
19. [lvāl]śrīvīṭṭhalabhbhāgavatō rāghavāryaḥ. Appayāryaḥ kam-marikam
20. [tulasi] vallabhāryabhūḥ [89]. Bhāradvājānvayaḥ yājuṣau tāv ēkaikavṛttikau.
21. Yājuṣa[ssūda]nakramita tīmmājyautiṣikāmajaḥ [90]. Kaunḍi-nyagōtraḥ konḍā- (145)
22. jyautiṣikōtraikavṛttimān. Viṣṇuvardhanagōtraśrīraṅgarāmā-nujā-
23. ryajaḥ [91]. Tātayāryō bhavaty ēkavṛttimān atra yājuṣaḥ. Yājuṣo bruramē-
24. ṭīśrīnaraharyāryasāmbhavaḥ [92]. Yallājiyajvā cātraikavṛtti-[r ⁶⁵ vadhuṣi]gōtrabhūḥ.
25. Putrō lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭasya gārgyānvayaḥ samudbhavaḥ [93]. Pāraṅgivēṅkaṭācāryo
26. yājuṣōtraikavṛttikāḥ. Śripellaguḍirāmābhaṭṭātmabhus sāma-ga[s sudhīḥ] [94].

Fourth Plate : Second side

1. Raṅganāthaśudhīr ēkavṛttir vāsiṣṭhagōtrajaḥ. Bahvṛcōnnala-dēva-
2. śrīvallimbhaṭṭasudhīsutaḥ [95]. Bhāradvājānvayaḥ rāmābhāttōpy atraika-vṛttimā-
3. n. Śrīkāsyapānvayaḥ kaṭṭamūrinārāyaṇāryabhūḥ [96]. Vṛttim ēkām vēṅkaṭādri-
4. bhaṭṭaḥ prāpnōti yājuṣaḥ. Kaunḍinyagōtraḥ paīḍalaviṭṭaya-syātmasaṁbhavaḥ. [97].
5. Atraikām aśnute vrtti ⁶⁶ [saṅgēyasau]kalyayājuṣaḥ. Śrivatsa-gōtraśrisarva-⁶⁷ (155)
6. dantayajvēndranandanaḥ [98]. Ēkavṛttir brāhmaṇapallisōmā-bhaṭṭa ārcikāḥ

64. Read "matir yā."

65. "vāsiṣṭhagō" ?

66. Read "ttīm[sa.]"

67. Read "traḥ śrī."

7. Vanappālam[duconarnāri]śrīvīramarājajah [99]. Cimtakum
ṭappalamasā-
8. ppribhaṭṭōpi bahvṛcaḥ. Kāmakāyanaśrīvīśvāmitrāv ēkaika-
vrttikau [100].
9. ⁶⁸ Gaḍulūkomḍubhaṭṭappalayāryō gārgyasānvayaḥ. Bhārad-
vājōnantabhaṭṭō
10. gaṇḍūtirumalāryabhūḥ [101]. ⁶⁹ Yētau ca yājuṣottamsau pṛthag
ēkaikavṛttikau.
11. Yājuṣo yaḍaballīśrīpadmanābhādhvarīndrajaḥ [102]. Śrīvatsa-
gōtraśrīvēṅka-
12. ṭādhvary atraikavṛttimān. Bōdhāyanō vaidyasārvabhauma-
sundarārājabhūḥ [103].
13. Parāśarānvayaparamasvāmī caikavṛttimān. Śrīkunañcēriku-
14. [ḍḍu]ppaperumālur ihārcikah [104]. Yājuṣo yajñeśvarāryaśrī-
vēṅkamu-
15. ḍeyāsudhiḥ. Ēkaikavṛttikāv ētāv api kauśikagōtriṇau [105].
Pu-
(165)
16. [trōnnapariti] tirumalabhaṭṭēndrasya yājuṣah. Gōvindabhaṭ-
ṭōpy atraikavṛtti-
17. mān kauśikānvayaḥ [106]. Nānāgōtrābhidhāś sēṣā vṛttimantō-
tra bhūsurāḥ.
18. Vṛttir aśnuvatē khyātakṛṣṇabhūpārpitakramāt [107]. ||Śri||—||

Fifth Plate

1. Śrīvēṅkaṭapatirāyakṣitipatīvaryasya kīrtidhuryasya.
2. Śāsanam idam sudhijanakuvalayacandrasya bhūmahēndrasya
[108].
(170)
3. ⁷⁰ Vēṅkaṭapatirāyakṣmāpanidēśena śāsanaślōkān. Kṛṣṇaka-
vikāmakō-
4. ṭis sarasam abhānīt sabhāpatēḥ pautraḥ [109]. Śrīvēṅkata-
mahārāyasūktyā gaṇa-
5. payātmajah. Śrīvīraṇāmahācāryō vyalikhāt tāmrāśāsanam.
...[110]. Dānapāla-
6. nayōr madhyē dānāc chrēyōnupālanam. Dānāt svargam
avāpnōti palanād acyutam
7. padam [111]. Svadattād dviguṇam puṇyam paradattānupāla-
nam. Paradattāpahārēṇa sva-
(175)
8. dattam niṣphalam bhavēt [112]. Svadattām paradattām vā yō
harēta ⁷¹ vasuṁdhārām. Shaṣṭi-

68. Read “ōṇḍu.”

69. Read “Ētau.”

J. 5

70. Read “vēṅk.”

71. Read “sundha.”

9. r varṣasahasrāṇi viṣṭhāyām jāyatē krimih [113]. Ēkaiva bha-ginī lōkē sarvēśā-
10. m ēva bhūbhujām. Na ⁷² bhōjyā na karagrāhyā vipradattā ⁷³ vasuṁdharā [114]. Sāmānyōyam
11. dharmasētur nṛpāṇām kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ. Sarvān ētān bhāvi-
13. nah pārthivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yācatē rāmacandraḥ [115] || Sri ||=|| (180)

Śrīvēṅkaṭēśa

72. “bhājyā”?

73. Read “sundha.”

Some Continental Notices on the Divisions of India

BY

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European notices regarding the divisions of India were very curious and confusing. That India consisted of three major regions seems to have been the prevailing notion among the Europeans, the earliest reference to which occurs in the *Liber Junioris Philosophi* believed to be a Greek work of the middle of the 4th century and published by Hudson.¹ The three parts of India noticed are India Major, India Minor and India Tertia. India Major extended from Malabar indefinitely eastward and India Minor adjoined Persia and included Beluchistan (Mekran), Sind and possibly the whole western coast obviously excluding Malabar,² while India Tertia was regarded as the same as Zanjibar.³ It is clear that these territorial units hardly covered the whole of India; on the contrary even countries outside India were regarded as portions of India as the reference to India Tertia shows. This treatment of India in its widest sense was perhaps generally accepted, e.g., by Alcuin who had the idea that the world was divided into three parts namely Europe, Africa and India.⁴ Yule informs us that the three Indies also appear in a map contained in a Ms. by Guido Pisanius, written in 1118 A.D.⁵ Another continental writer similarly recorded the three divisions of India, but his treatment showed a more direct and intimate recognition of India proper. Thus according to Conti⁶ the three regions of India were (1) from Persia to the Indus (i.e., Mekran and Sind), (2) from Indus to the Ganges, (3) and all that is beyond Ganges (Indo-China and China) which show a more correct understanding of the geographical position of northern India. Conti does not give any name to the divisions he has recorded but very likely he also had in view the well-known customary designations of India Major, India Minor and India

1. Yule's Travels of Marco Polo, ed. by Cordier, Vol. II, p. 425 fn.

2. Malabar means the Bombay Coast (*Ibd.*, p. 403, fn.)

3. Yule says that Zangibar was applied by the Arabs to the whole stretch of coast from the Kilimanchi river (river Jubb?) to cape Corrientes (*Ibd.*, p. 424, fn.) beyond the Southern Tropic.

4. *Ibd.*, p. 425, fn.

5. *Ibd.*

6. *Ibd.*, p. 426, fn.

Tertia, though the application of these names was made with reference to the countries of India proper including only China lying outside the boundary.

The same idea of three regional divisions of India is illustrated in the map of Andrea Bianco at Venice,⁷ which offers other details of a geographical character. The different parts shown are (1) India Superior, 'containing 8 regions and 24 nations'; (2) India Minor, 'extending westward to the Persian Gulf' and (3) India Media, "containing 14 regions and 12 nations." The identity of these regions and nations is not known to us as no name is given but undoubtedly this is a more detailed account than other such notices observed before. The conventional notion of the three Indies has not been discarded but designations have been changed as instead of India Major, India Minor and India Tertia, we get India Superior, India Minor and India Media ; India Minor being more familiar than others. But little concord regarding the identity of these different sections can be discerned. It is only with regard to India Minor that we can speak with a certain amount of certainty for in the *Liber Junioris Philosophi*, India Minor has been shown to be equivalent to the wide tract stretching from Persia to Sind including Beluchistan (Mekran). It may be noted that of the three Indian regions mentioned by Conti, the one running from Persia to the Indus (i.e., Mekran and Sind) was obviously India Minor which is given the same geographical position in the map of Andrea Bianco extending westward to the Persian Gulf as is indicated by Marino Sanuto who places immediately east of the Persian Gulf "India Minor quae et Ethiopia".⁸ It is therefore quite plausible to assume that according to continental writers India Minor corresponded to the whole country extending from Persia on the west to the Indus basin on the east.

The customary plan of making out three divisions is also noticed by John Marignolli, whose Indies are : (1) Manzi or India Maxima (South China); (2) Mynibar (Malabar) and (3) Maabar. Here again we get altogether a new set of names which probably covered a wider region, but it is just reasonable to infer that three after all was merely a traditional number with the continental writers. Even in the year 1571 we find that the King Sebastian of Portugal constituted his eastern possessions into three governments : the first, India, extending from Cape Gardafui to Ceylon ; the second, Monomotapa, from Gardafui to Cape Corrientes, the third Malacca from Pegu to China. Here it is clear that whatever

7. *Ibd.*, p. 426, fn.

8. *Ibd.*

may have been the geographical range, the continental notion about the three Indies hardly changed, although in the territorial application of these names there was no uniformity of practice. Most of the notices refer to India in the widest sense of the term including the Middle East and also South-East Asia, and show acquaintance only with a portion of India Proper and not the whole of it as in one no reference is made of Upper India (*Liber Junioris Philosophi*) and in another of South India (*Conti*); but in general, southern and western India seem to have been known more intimately than other parts of India.

It is also to be noticed that most of these continental writers have regarded China as forming a part of India. Thus China is clearly indicated in the division—‘all that is beyond Ganges’ made by Conti and is perhaps also alluded to in the map of Andrea Bianco, but is clearly referred to by John Marignoli in his ‘*Manzi or India Maxima*’ and by the King Sebastian of Portugal in his ‘*Malacca*’ which extended from Pegu to China. All these are indications more or less of a positive nature which establish India’s connection with China in mediaeval times. The Arab geographer Rashīdu’d-ddīn similarly recorded that Hind is surrounded on the east by Chin and Māchin.⁹ Likewise the extension of India’s frontiers as far as Persia as known to continental writers made out a manifest elevation in the geographical position of India.¹⁰

It is, however, quite evident that India in its proper geographical sense was not known to the continental writers: the three divisions they made mostly referred to non-Indian countries and were done, as is obvious, according to individual notions which varied. Thus we have no positive evidence to equate India

9. Māchin of Rashīdu’d-ddīn possibly refers to the great Chinese port of Hong-Kong (IA, Vol. LIX, 1930, p. 5, fn. 27).

10. The idea that in the west, India extended as far as Persia by the inclusion of Mekran is endorsed by many foreigners Greeks and Arabs. According to Pliny the four satrapies of Gedrosi, the Arachoti, the Arii, and the Parapomisadae (i.e., Mekran, Kandahar, Herat, and Kabul) were regarded as portions of India and were classed under the name of Ariana. Yule writes that that the Nestorian Patriarch Jesujabus considered all to be India from the Coast of Persia, i.e., of Fars, and that the early Arabs according to Beladhori are represented as having invaded Indian territory about the Lake Sijistan which is described by Istakhri as being bounded on the north and partly on the west by portions of India. In the time of chach, the last King of Sind a river which formed the limit between Mekran and Kerman was regarded as the boundary of Hind which in the Geography of Bakui is described as beginning at the State of Mekran. So Marco Polo says “this kingdom of Kesmacoran (Mekran) is the last in India as you go towards the west and north-west (Yule, op. cit., pp. 401-2).

Major of Liber Junioris Philosophi with either India Superior and India Media of Andrea Bianco or with India Maxima of Johp Marignolli; there being little or no concordance in regard to the geographical position of these names. Nor was the great traveller Marco Polo more precise in this respect ; his knowledge of India as a whole, was so little exact that it was a difficult problem to ascertain which of the divisions he meant in his 'Greater India' which extended frōm Maabar to Kesmacoran.¹¹ As Maabar was Tanjore and Kesmacoran, Mekran,¹² Greater India obviously comprised the whole country from Tanjore to Baluchistan which perhaps stood in a general way for the first India, one of the Three Indias made by King Sebastian of Portugal extending from Cape Gardafui to Ceylon. The other division mentioned by Marco Polo is India the Lesser extending from Champa to Mutfili (Telingane)¹³ roughly corresponding to the eastern portion of India. The third division he mentions is the great province of Abash which constitutes the Middle India.¹⁴ Polo's desription makes it equally clear that European notions about the different regions of India were very much fluid and lacked fixation. Further, his list of ten Kingdoms of India which were mostly South-Indian principalities¹⁵ indicates that the attention of the European merchants and travellers was directed more towards the south than towards the north. As South-India from early times had a highly developed commercial life and carried on maritime commerce in rich merchandise with the merchants of the West it was undoubtedly known more widely to European traders than northern India. And consequently European attention in northern India was confined only to that portion which lay on the way to South India through an overland route from the continent, i.e., the country beginning from Persia and ending with the Malabar coast.

In a geographical sense India was ordinarily divided into nine parts as we know from the most authentic indigenous sources. Thus the Purānas and the astronomical literature give us a detailed account of the nine regions of India and other items of information. This idea seems to have been known also to the early Arab geographers. Rashīdū'd-dīn, for instance, who probably derived his knowledge from a book called 'Batankal' to which he refers says that the land of Hind is divided into nine parts.¹⁶

11. Yule, op. cit., p. 424.

12. *Ibd.*, p. 402, fn., 403 fn.

13. *Ibd.*, p. 424.

14. *Ibd.*, p. 423.

15. *Ibd.*, p. 426.

16. Elliot and Dawson History of India, I, p. 44.

This notion might have been known also to some continental writers as St. Epiphanius (end of 4th century) recorded that India was formerly divided into nine Kingdoms.¹⁷ But Yule thinks that 'Nine' may be merely a traditional number in the ancient word as the 'Nine Provinces' was an ancient synonym for China Proper and 'Nau-Khanda' with like meaning was an ancient name of India.¹⁸

But at a later time the traditional tendency was to make out twelve parts and it became almost a common saying that there were twelve Kings or Kingdoms in India. Jordanus, for instance,¹⁹ refers to the twelve Kingdoms of Greater India some of which even refer to the countries of South-eastern Asia, which show that Greater India was used in its widest sense, though the whole of north India altogether escaped his notice.²⁰ Similarly Ibn Batuta tells us of twelve Princes in Malabar alone; and a King of Arakan is said to have assumed the headship of twelve Kingdoms and other such instances are also recorded. The historian Ziá-ud-din Barni also furnishes a list of twelve principalities, but his list seems to be a complete account of the political divisions of the whole of India in the early Sultanate period. This is consistent enough with the statement of Firishta that there was about a dozen important principalities in India at the time of the Mahomedan conquest.²¹

All these continental notices referred to, only indicate that even down to the late Middle Ages the main elements of the geography of India were not sufficiently well-known. India was only imperfectly realised resulting in partial derangement of its geography. Greater India, unlike perhaps what was originally intended, stood for real India, and Interior India which would stand for Middle India in practice was employed to mean remoter India. Thus Nicolo Conti calls the Chinese *Interiores Indi*²² and Marco Polo says that Abash the great province constitutes the Middle India.²³ Abash is a close enough representation of the Arabic *Habash*, i.e., *Abyssinia*²⁴ which would show that Middle India was

17. Yule, *op. cit.* p. 432.

18. *Ibd.*, p. 199, fn. 10.

19. *Ibd.*, p. 426.

20. *Ibd.*, The kingdoms were :—Molebar, Singuyl (Cranganor), Columbum (Quilon), Molephatan (somewhere on the east coast), Sylen (Ceylon), Java, Tcelene (Telingana), Maratha, Batigala (Canara), Champa (probably all Indo-China) and the other two also in Java.

21. *Ibd.*

22. Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 432

23. *Ibd.*, p. 427.

elongated to mean Ethiopia. Yule says that the European Confusion of India and Ethiopia comes down from Virgil's time, who brings the Nile from India,²⁵ and the notion seems to have persisted for a long time. The term India Minor is actually applied to some Ethiopic region in a letter of 1237 A.D. and a Papal communication dated 3rd September 1329 to the Emperor of Ethiopia shows the same hazy conception. Even the Embassy from the king of Abyssinia to Portugal in 1513 seems to have been designated as "Legatio Magui Indorum Imperatoris" and Roger Bacon speaks of Ethiopia as 'propter approximationem Indiam'.²⁶ So there was a general idea that one of the Indies was in Africa and particularly Ethiopia and Yule remarks that this confusion was at the bottom of other confusions. St. Epiphanius, for instance, groups under India some countries such as Homeritae (in Yemen), Azumiti (Axum), Dulites (Zulla), Bugaei (Bejahs of the Red Sea Coast) Taiani (Tiamo), etc., which refer to the mid-eastern region.²⁷ The traditional tendency was to make Three Indias and attempts were also made to discriminate different Indias, but ideas lacked fixation and the picture of India remained vague.

The extension of the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era no doubt brought the Roman merchants on the shores of India, but the interior of the country and other retarded regions of India were not opened up by the commercial activity of Roman traders. Then in the Dark Ages that followed the eclipse of the Roman Empire, European trade remained essentially Mediterranean. For want of a well-known trade route commercial activities could not be oceanic and so the world outside remained only a matter of engrossing curiosity to the Europeans. The crusades lifted the veil of obscurity between the east and the west and led to the expansion of geographical knowledge but even then it took a long time for the results to consummate. This forms the background against which the notices on India were written.²⁸

24. *Ibd.*, p. 431.

25. *Ibd.*, p. 432.

26. *Ibd.*

27. *Ibd.*

28. Ancient pseudo-Indias west of the Indus are referred to in J I H for August 1947 (pp. 175-87), April 1948 (pp. 27-44), and August 1948 (pp. 201-207).—*Ed.*

. The Date of the Foundation of Andhra Dynasty by Simuka

BY

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The dynasty, which is known by its tribal name, *Andhra*, in the Purāṇas, and by its family name, *Sātavāhana*, in inscriptions, is traced back for its origin to Simuka. This is the name found over his reliefo figure in the cave at Nānāghāṭ, and hence it should be presumed to be the correct form. It is misspelt as Śisuka (*Matsya*), Sindhuka (*Vayu*), and Śipraka (*Viṣṇu*) in the Purāṇas. The exact date when Simuka laid the foundation of the Āndhra-Sātavāhana dynasty is one of the most disputed points in the study of Ancient Indian History. Perhaps no other chronological problem of this category evoked such widely divergent views. The conclusions of modern scholars¹ range between 240 B.C. and 28 B.C.! Very likely, the present attempt to review the entire position and to offer a solution from a fresh angle might yet add one more conundrum to the existing list instead of simplifying it. But that is no reason why the investigation should be given up in despair.

The Purāṇas profess to preserve the Ancient Indian historical tradition. Five out of the eighteen major Purāṇas, viz. the *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Viṣṇu*, *Brahmānda* and *Bhāgavata*, furnish dynastic lists of rulers who rose to prominence in Magadha before the advent of the Guptas into the political field. They not only make general statements regarding the duration of each dynasty and number of its rulers, but also specifically mention the name of each prince that wore the crown. The *Vāyu* and the *Matsya* Purāṇas give in addition the regnal period of each prince. But unfortunately their historical value is vitiated not only by disagreements in their versions, but also by the discrepancies between the general and specific statements of the same Purāṇa. The general statements of three typical Purāṇas regarding the Mauryas, Śungas, Kāṇvas, and

1. V. A. Smith : 240 or 230 B.C.
- R. Sathianathaier : 235 B.C.
- E. J. Rapson : before 200 B.C.
- E. W. Hopkins : 'earlier than the first of the Śungas'.
- R. G. Bhandarkar : 73 B.C.
- H. Raychaudhuri : 28 B.C.

Āndhras are summarised below for ready reference. According to this Purānic testimony all these dynasties successively came to power one after the other by a bloody coup de etat.

Dynasties	<i>Vāyu</i>		<i>Matsya</i>		<i>Viṣṇu</i>		
	No. of Princes.	Total period.	No. of Princes.	Total period.	No. of Princes.	Total period	
1. Mauryas	..	9	137	10	137	10	137
2. Sungas	..	10	112	10	112	10	112
3. Kāṇvas	..	4	45	4	4	4	
4. Āndhras	..	30	411	29	460	29	456

Except in the case of the Kāṇvas, these general statements do not conform to the specific details furnished by the Purāṇas themselves. For instance, the total of the regnal periods of the individual Mauryan princes comes only to 133 years, while that of the Sunga princes reaches the figure of 120 years. In the case of the Āndhra rulers this discrepancy becomes more glaring, especially between the data furnished by the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya* Purāṇas. The first names only 17 kings and the total of their individual reigns comes to 272½ years, and the second furnishes the names of 30 princes whose reigns cover a total period of 448½ years! The *Viṣṇu* Purāṇa gives 24 names, and the *Bhāgavata* 22, without stating their regnal periods. Mr. F. E. Pargiter's book, entitled *the Purānic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, gives the Purānic lists in their most authentic form, with a full apparatus variants based on the collation of sixty-three manuscripts. Still it is not easy to pronounce in favour of a particular version in our quest for correct chronology of the Āndhras. The problem is rendered more complicate by the unanimous declaration of the relevant Purāṇas that "Śīsuka (i.e. Simuka) of the Āndhra race having destroyed Suśarman of the Kāṇva family with main force, and whatever will have been left of the power of the Sungas, will obtain possession of the earth!" Obviously, according to this testimony, Simuka founded the Āndhra dynasty *after* destroying the last of the Kāṇvas.

Amidst this labyrinth of conflicting data, modern scholars could not tread the same path, nor could they reach the identical goal.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar² interpreted the clause "whatever will have been left of the power of the Sungas" to mean that Simuka

2. *Early History of the Dekkan*: 3rd Edition, pp. 51-63.

overthrew the Kāṇvas and the Śungas *simultaneously* and hence he included the 45 years of the Kāṇvas in the 112 years of the Śungas. According to him, Simuka founded the Āndhra dynasty in 322 B.C. — (137 years of the Mauryas + 112 years of the Śungas) i.e. in 73 B.C. He sought to reconcile the conflicting statements of the *Vāyu* and *Matsya* Purāṇas by supposing that the longer period and the corresponding list of the princes given by the compiler of the *Matsya* Purāṇa was made up by putting together the reigns and the names of all the princes belonging to the *several branches* of the dynasty. But while preferring the authority of the *Vāyu* list as a more authentic record of the *main branch*, he did not strictly accept that the dynasty consisted of only seventeen rulers and its duration was for 272½ years. On the contrary, he picked up another general statement of the *Vāyu* that the 'Āndhras will have possession of the earth for three hundred years', and to sustain this figure he made *another supposition* that one or two reigns lasting for about 28 years might have dropped out by the corruption of the text! His conclusion is that the Āndhra-Sātavāhana dynasty ruled the Dekkan from B.C. 73 to about A.D. 218, i.e. for about three centuries.

Prof. Raychaudhuri³ endorses the views of Prof. Bhandarkar regarding the distinction between the *several* and the *main* branches of the Āndhra kings. But he rightly treats the Śunga and Kāṇva dynasties as successive, because both the Purāṇas and Bāṇa testify that Devabhuti, the tenth and *last* Śunga, was the person slain by Vāsudeva, the first Kāṇva. In his opinion "Simuka of the Āndhra race" founded his dynasty in 322 B.C. — (137 years of the Mauryas + 112 years of the Śungas + 45 years of the Kāṇvas), i.e. in 28 B.C.

Dr. V. A. Smith⁴ and several other scholars, unlike Professors Bhandarkar and Raychaudhuri, accepted the general statement of the Purāṇas that there were 29 or 30 kings who held the sceptre successively for a period of about four and a half centuries. Accordingly they were led to regard the *Matsya* list of princes and the corresponding regnal periods which make a total of 448½ years as more authentic. Dr. Smith wrote "The independent Āndhra dynasty must have begun about 240 or 230 B.C. long before the suppression of the Kāṇvas about 28 B.C., and the Āndhra king who slew Susarman cannot possibly have been Simuka".

Prof. E. J. Rapson, like Dr. Smith, held that 'the most complete of the extant lists can only be interpreted as indicating that the founder, Simuka, began to reign before 200 B.C.'

3. *Political History of Ancient India*, III Edition, pp. 274-279.

4. *Early History of Ancient India*, IV Edition, pp. 216-224.

If Dr. Smith and others of his thought 'reject the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas' that Siṁuka slew Suśarman of the Kāñva family, Prof. Bhandarkar and his followers discard equally

THE MATSYA AND THE VĀYU LISTS OF ĀNDHRA KINGS

(See the works of Profs. Bhandarkar and Rapson
already cited)

<i>Matsya Purāna.</i>			<i>Vāyu Purāna.</i>		
No.	Names of Kings.	Years of reign.	No.	Names of Kings.	Years of reign.
1.	Śiśuka (Siṁuka of inscription)	23	1.	Sindhuka	23
2.	Kṛṣṇa (Kānha of inscription)	18	2.	Kṛṣṇa	18
3.	Śrī Mallakarṇi (Śrī Sātakarṇi I of the <i>Brahmānda, Viṣṇu</i> and <i>Bhāgavata</i>)	10		[Śrī Sātakarṇi (I [?] of the other Purāṇas)]	
4.	Pōrnotsaṅga	18			
5.	Skandastambhi	18			
6.	Sātakarni	56	3.	Sātakarni	56
7.	Lambodara	18			
8.	Apilaka	12	4.	Apilavā	12
9.	Meghasvāti	18			
10.	Svāti	18			
11.	Skandasvāti	7			
12.	Mṛgendra Svātikarna	3			
13.	Kuntala Svātikarna	8			
14.	Svātikarna	1			
15.	Pulomāvi I	36	5.	Paṭumāvi	24
16.	Gaurakṛṣṇa or Rikta-varṇa	25	6.	Nemikṛṣṇa	25
17.	Hāla	5	7.	Hāla	1
18.	Maṇḍulaka	5	8.	Mandalaka	5
19.	Puriṇdrasena	5	9.	Purikasena	21
20.	Sundara Svātikarna	1	10.	Sātakarṇi	1
21.	Cakora Svātikarna	½	11.	Cakora Sātakarni	½
22.	Śivasvāti	28	12.	Śivasvāti	28
23.	Gautamiputra	21	13.	Gautamiputra	21
24.	Pulomat i.e. Pulomāvi II	28			
25.	Śiva Śrī (Pulomāvi III) Pargiter	7			
26.	Śivaskanda	7			
27.	Yajñaśrī	29	14.	Yajñaśrī	29
28.	Vijaya	6	15.	Vijaya	6
29.	Candaśrī	10	16.	Dandaśrī	3
30.	Pulomat (Pulomāvi IV)	7	17.	Pulomāvi	7

almost unanimous verdict of the Purāṇas that there were thirty Andhra kings who between themselves covered a total period of more than four centuries. However, a close scrutiny of the *Matsya* and the *Vāyu* lists bring out certain points, which expose the weakness of Prof. Bhandarkar's arguments and show that the conclusions of Dr. Smith, Prof. Rapson and others are nearer the truth.

(1) It may be noted that the kings 15th to 23rd of the *Matsya* list are identical with the kings 5th to 13th of the *Vāyu* list.

(2) Notwithstanding a few minor differences in details, it is significant that both the lists allot a total period of 126½ years for these nine kings. Within this period the *Vayu*'s figures for individual reigns may be preferred. But the lists cannot be modified.

(3) The kings in the two lists starting from Yajñaśrī to the last ruler of the dynasty are four in number, and their total regnal periods agree with a difference of seven years.

(4) In the *Vāyu* list there are only four kings preceding Paṭumavi, whereas in the *Matsya* list there are fourteen kings before the self-same ruler, called Pulomāvi. It may be observed that this summary way of treatment by the *Vāyu* relates to the early period when the Andhra state was in formation.

(5) Again, the *Vayu* list is silent as regards three successive princes who according to the *Matsya* version were in possession of the crown between Gautamīputra and Yajñaśrī. It relates to a period of temporary set back to Andhra fortunes.

This omission of 13 kings in the *Vāyu* list cannot be reasonably explained by supposing that they did not belong to the *main branch* of Andhra kings. It is highly improbable that the rulers of *several branches* were concentrated at two particular periods of Andhra History. If it was a case of jumbling together of kings of the *main* and *several* branches in the *Matsya* Purāṇa, as supposed by Prof. Bhandarkar, they would have been more or less contemporaneous and the kings of the *several branches* would not have been confined to only two periods. Moreover, even Prof. Bhandarkar could not ignore Pulomā (24th of the *Matsya* list) whose name is omitted in the *Vāyu* list, but whose existence is proved by the epigraphic evidence. He had to admit that this prince reigned in his own right as Andhra sovereign at least for four years.⁵

5. R. G. Bhandarkar : *Early History of the Dekkan*, 3rd Edition, pp. 59-60.

Hence the omission of thirteen names and a corresponding reduction in the total duration of the Āndhra dynasty in the *Vāyu* Purāṇa need to be accounted for in a different way. Might be the *Vāyu* was paying the greater attention to the more important phase of the Āndhra rule which began with Paṭumāvi or Pulomāvi I. Dr. Smith⁶ pointed out that the difference between the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya* reckonings (156 years) is exactly made up by the total duration assigned by those very Purāṇas to the Sungas (112 years) and the Kāṇvas (45 years), and that the shorter reckoning of the *Vayu* must be taken to date from the close of the Kāṇva dynasty. If the *Vāyu* mentions four other predecessors of Paṭumāvi (Pulomāvi I), it is in consonance with its own observation⁷ that it would mention only leading names (*Pradhānyataḥ pravakṣyāmi*).

The *Matsya* Purāṇa, therefore, may be accepted in preference to the other Purāṇas, for it is fuller in details with regard to the number and names of the Āndhra rulers, and it is in harmony with the general statement of the other Purāṇas, including the *Vāyu*, which allot more than four hundred years to their dynasty.

If then it is conceded that the dynasty occupied 448½ years or some other figure very near it, the question arises about the time of its beginning and end. If we accept 28 B.C. as the starting point of the Āndhra power (as suggested by Prof. Raychaudhuri) we shall be taking their rule well into the 5th century A.D. which is untenable due to the claims of other dynasties which came to dominate over their territories. Hence we have to reject the tradition that Āndhra Simuka killed the last of the Kāṇvas when he laid the foundation of his own dynasty.

It looks very likely that the Āndhra king who killed Suśarman was Pulomāvi, the 15th prince of the *Matsya*, who is identical with Paṭumāvi, the 5th of the *Vāyu*. The close correspondence between the versions of the *Matsya* and *Vāyu* Purāṇas with regard to the number, names and total duration of the reigns of the princes following this Pulomāvi has already been noted. A look into the table of the Sātavāhana princes enumerated by the different Purāṇas also shows that next to Sātakarniś, the name of Pulomāvi was very much coveted among the Sātavāhanas. The *Matsya* gives as many as four of the line bearing this name. The importance of this name is further heightened by the statement in the *Matsya*, viz. "As to the Āndhras, they are the Pulomās", i.e. those succeed-

6. Z.D.M.G., 1902.

7. J.B.O.R.S., XVI, p. 284.

ing the king Pulomāvi.⁸ It is extremely probable that in the time of Pulomāvi I, the Āndhra kingdom was transformed into an empire by the overthrow of the Kāṇvas in 28 B.C. To have achieved this, Pulomāvi I must have been ruling in his own territory for some time — say 15 years.⁹ On this assumption we may conclude that he came to the throne of his ancestors about 43 B.C. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, 14 princes preceded him with a total reign of 228 years. Hence Simuka, the founder of the Āndhra-Sātavahana dynasty, must have come to some prominence about the year 43 B.C. + 228 years, i.e. 271 B.C.

Simuka could not have founded an *independent* state. He appears to have started his political career as a servant of the Mauryas. This assumption explains why the Āndhra-Sātavahana kings are also known as *Āndhra-bhṛtyas*, i.e. Āndhras who were once servants. In fact, in the Aśokan inscriptions the Āndhras are treated as a vassal tribe. Simuka might have been their chief. Rāya or Rājā was associated with his name in later records by his descendants who actually reigned as kings when the power of the Mauryas was on the decline. Such a practice was not uncommon. Gupta and Ghatotkcha, who were mere local chieftains of Magadha, are designated *Mahārājās* by Samudragupta in his Allahābād pillar inscription. Why go so far. Tuṣāspha, Aśoka's representative in Sauraṣṭra, is called Rājā in Rudradāman's Girnār inscription.

The accuracy of the date 271 B.C., or some other figure very near it, for Simuka may be proved by investigation on another independent line as shown below

In the cave at Nānāghāṭ there is a long inscription of queen Nāganikā, wife of Śrī Sātakarṇi, and a series of names inscribed above six reliefs which are supposed to represent the personages mentioned in the large inscription. From a combined study of these records Bühler concluded that 'the Queen Nāyanikā (Nāganikā) was the daughter of the Mahāraṭhi (Tra)nakyaro, the wife of king Sātakarṇi, son of King Simuka Sātavāhana, and the mother of two princes Śakti-Śrī and Veda-Śrī'. Although there is absolutely no indication of filial relationship between Śrī

8. Pargiter : *Dynasties*, p. 58, J.B.O.R.S., III, p. 248.

9. If 10 years are allotted for this then Pulomāvi I may be supposed to have ascended the throne in 38 B.C. Corresponding alterations must be made in calculating Simuka's time.

Sātakarṇi and Simuka, Prof. Rapson and Raychaudhuri also made this assumption in the face of the Purānic testimony that one Śrī Sātakarṇi was the son of Kṛṣṇa, brother of Simuka. Prof. Rapson¹⁰ was aware of this contradiction and wrote "It does not seem possible to reconcile this statement (Purānic) with inscr". But what appeared to be a conflict of evidence to the Professor was really the outcome of wrong interpretation of the epigraphs concerned. If the assumption that Śrī Sātakarṇi of Nānāghāṭ record of Queen Nāganikā was the son of Simuka is abandoned, the alleged contradiction disappears. The fact appears to be that the relieves represent the *family* of Śrī Sātakarṇi, and Simuka was given a place among them as the founder of the family. This interpretation gains support by the suggested reading of the missing phrase in the 2nd line of Nāganikā's inscription as Simuka-Sātavāhana-Vamsa-vardhana".¹¹

The identification of this Sātakarni, Nāganikā's husband, with those mentioned in the third place in the Purānic lists without discrimination, and to regard Sātakarṇi, the third in the *Vāyu* list, to be the third in order of succession have caused not a little confusion. The third of the *Matsya* list is called Śrī-Mallakarṇi, and that of the *Bhāgavata* list Sāntakarṇa. Nāganikā's husband was performer of innumerable Vedic sacrifices, and so the *Matsya* and *Bhāgavata* Purāṇas could not have misquoted his name. It looks more probable that he was the sixth of the *Matsya* list and identical with the third of the *Vāyu* list as both of them bore the same name, Sātakarni, and ruled for an identical period of 56 years. Sātakarṇi of the *Vāyu* Purāṇa, though stands third in its list, need not be the third in order of succession as has been assumed by a number of scholars. If we remember that the *Vāyu* names only 17 out of the 30 kings with whom it invests the dynasty, it may be easily recognised that between Kṛṣṇa and this Sātakarṇi, the *Vāyu* Purāṇa omitted the mention of some for reasons already noted.

Now this Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghāṭ records (Queen Naganika's husband) was the contemporary of Khārvela for "the alphabet of the Nānāghāṭ inscription agrees generally with that of the Hāthigumpha epigraph.....". The Hāthigumpha record says that Khārvela sent his forces against the Sātakarṇi of the

10. E. J. Rapson: *Cat. of Ind. Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc.* pp. xvii-xix, foot-note 4.

11. D. C. Sarkar: *Select Inscriptions etc.* p. 187, note 2.

west in the 2nd year, and forced the Yavanarāja Dimit to retire in the 8th year of his reign. This Dimit has been identified with Demetrios, son of Euthydemos. The *Gārgī Saṁhitā* hints at the retreat of the Greeks from India due to troubles at home. The allusion is evidently to the struggle between Eukratides and Demetrios in Bactria. According to Meyer,¹² Demetrios retired in 175 B.C. This was the 8th year of Khārvela, the King of Kalinga. His expedition to the west was in his 2nd year i.e. in 181 B.C. when Sātakarnī (6th of the *Matsya*, 5th of the *Viṣṇu*, and 3rd of the *Vāyu* lists, and husband of Nāganikā) was administering his territories. Taking into account the regnal periods associated with the five predecessors of this Sātakarnī in the *Matsya* Purāṇa, Simuka seems to have been at the head of the Āndhra tribe some 87 years before him. Thus we get 181 B.C. + 87 years i.e. 268 B.C. for Simuka to appear on the historical stage. If Sātakarnī had already been on the throne for x years, which is very likely, before Khārvela made his hostile move towards the west, the starting point of Simuka's career will be 268 B.C. + x years. This may be 271 B.C. or some other date very near it. We had arrived at 271 B.C. by supposing that Pulomāvi (I) had already reigned 15 years before he overthrew the Kāṇva dynasty in 28 B.C.

That Simuka lived some time during the 2nd quarter of the third century B.C. is also established by Mr. Haricharan Ghose's formula for the first year of Yajñaśrī's reign.¹³ According to him 16th year of Yajñaśrī + y = 153 A.D. His explanation is that Yajñaśrī was in possession of Aparānta upto the 16th year of his sovereignty as may be inferred from his record at Kānheri, presumably in that region. The Girnār inscription dated in the year 72 (Śaka) i.e. 150 A.D. shows that part of the country under the sway of Rudradāman. So Yajñaśrī must have lost that territory sometime after 16th year of his reign — maybe in the year 16 + y (which according to him is not greater than 10 in value). Now Mr. Ghose argues that the Girnār date 72 represents only the year when the lake was repaired. But the record itself was inscribed later, probably in the year 75 (Śaka), ‘as a close internal examination of the record’ would show. “It is thus clear” says Mr. Ghose “that Rudradāman had finished his conquests about 75

12. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, IX, p. 88, quoted in the Jr. B. O. Res. Soc., Vol. XIII, p. 242.

13. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1930, pp. 753 ff.

Śaka i.e. 153 A.D. Hence by the above equation, Yajñaśri's accession must have occurred in the year 137 A.D. — y ." Although there is no compelling reason to post-date the Girnār record by three years, we may accept Mr. Ghose's date for the commencement of Yajñaśri's rule, and calculating backwards from it according to the *Matsya* regnal periods, we find Simuka on the political stage about $396\frac{1}{2} - (137 \text{ A.D.} - y) = (259\frac{1}{2} + y) \text{ B.C.}$ i.e. about 270 B.C.

The Adventurous Career of Ghasiti Begam¹

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Ghasiti Begam was the eldest daughter of Nawab Aliverdi Khan of Bengal. Her real name was Mihr-un-nisa Begam.² She was married by her father to Nawazish Muhammad Khan, who was Nawab Aliverdi Khan's eldest nephew. In the forties of the eighteenth century, when Aliverdi commenced his administration of the Subah of Bengal, Nawazish Muhammad, husband of Ghasiti Begam, was appointed Deputy Governor of Dacca, including Chittagong, Tipperah and Sylhet, with Hussain Quli Khan as his deputy and the Nawab's grandson Mirza Muhammad (otherwise known as Sirajuddaula) as the nominal Superintendent of the *nawarah* or the state fleet.³ Sirajuddaula's brother Mirza Kasim (popularly called Ekramuddaula) was adopted as his son,⁴ as he and Ghasiti Begam had no issue, and he was also invested with a nominal command over the army at Dacca.

In 1743, there was some trouble among the officers of Nawazish Muhammad at Dacca. A certain Gokulchand is said to have accused Hussain Quli Khan, the deputy, for some misappropriation of the state finances, which ultimately led to the dismissal of Husain Quli Khan by the Deputy Governor of Dacca. But Husain Quli through the influence of Ghasiti Begam got himself reinstated. Feeling deeply the insult incurred by him, Husain Quli managed to dismiss Gokulchand, through the favour and kindness⁵ of Ghasiti Begam. In his place, Husain Quli appointed one Rajballabh, who remained ever faithful to his master and the Begam.

Ghasiti Begam came to be known as Chhoti Begam as her husband was known as Chhota Nawab (of Dacca). Later, when she

1. Read at a meeting of the Allahabad University History Study Circle on December 5, 1947 under the presidency of Dr. B. P. Saksena.

2. Ghulam Hussain : *Seir Mutaqherin* (Valmiki Press Edition), Vol. II., p. 109.

3. Datta : *Aliverdi And His Times*, 1939, p. 37.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. p. 87.

retired to the Moti Jhil Palace, she came to be popularly called the Begam of Moti Jhil.⁶

Ghasiti Begam aided her father with her money in his march against the Afghans, who had overrun Behar in 1748.⁷ Four years after, Nawab Aliverdi Khan leaving aside the claims of two surviving nephews⁸—the husband of Ghasiti (who had always stood beside her father in moments of grave crises) and Sayyid Ahmad, the Governor of Purnea—nominated Sirajuddaula, as his heir.⁹ Since then, it appears, Nawazish Muhammad, with his wife, Ghasiti Begam, left Dacca and resided at Murshidabad, probably in the hope of influencing the Nawab to alter the declaration in favour of Sirajuddaula.'

Since then, Ghasiti's attitude towards Sirajuddaula was full of suspicion. She actually hated Sirajuddaula. Her husband's two ministers Husain Quli Khan and Rajballabh, were really instrumental in setting up Nawazish Muhammad, their master, as their thorn in the path of Sirajuddaula's ambition. In fact, Sirajuddaula deeply felt such a stroke of his uncle. Nawazish had amassed vast riches and was very popular on account of his mild forgiving disposition and his extensive charities to the poor and friendless. These two factors combined with the dislike of his aunt indicated that Nawazish Muhammad would raise a standard of rebellion when he (Sirajuddaula) would succeed his grandfather. This intrigue of Ghasiti Begam and Nawazish Muhammad did materialise but, not to such a great extent, because one of the partners—Nawazish Muhammad—, having received a great shock from the death of his adopted son Ekramuddaula, who was his only comfort of life, suddenly fell ill and expired in December, 1755.¹⁰ It is said that though Nawab Aliverdi called his nephew Nawazish with his consort Ghasiti Begam, to his palace for treatment,

6. Bengal Past And Present, Vol. XXXI, Pt. II, p. 124.

7. Datta : supra, p. 137.

8. A brief genealogy is this :—

Aliverdi



Nawazish Muhammad * * Ghasiti Begam
(Nephew of Aliverdi) „
(No issue) Ekramuddaula adopted,
after him, Muraddaula.

Amina Begam * * Zainuddin
" (Nephew of Aliverdi)
Mirza Muhammad (known as
Sirajuddaula).

9. Serafton : Reflections, p. 52.

10. Seir Mutaqherin, Vol. II, p. 127 gives the date 13 Rabi II, 1169H (i.e. January 16, 1756), which is incorrect, as Mr. Watts, the Chief of the English Factory at Cossimbazar, reported the death of Nawazish in his letter dated 17-12-1755. See Public Proceedings, 20-12-1755, p. 534.

when Nawazish Muhammad fell ill, Ghasiti although actually in her father's house trembled lest Sirajuddaula, her inveterate enemy, should confine her there, and so she quickly repaired to her own lodgings, where Nawazish died¹¹ 'putting herself in a cornered chair together with her husband.'¹²

Sirajuddaula had taken the reins of the government from his grandfather, when the latter fell ill. His spies at this moment reported that the English were plotting with Ghasiti Begam against Sirajuddaula's succession.¹³ This is evident from a note made by one Dr. William Forth in a letter to Mr. Drake : 'About 15 days before the old Nawab died, his son (meaning Sirajuddaula) came in and with a face full of resentment and anger addressed the old man thus : 'Father, I am well informed the English are going to assist the *Begam*. 'The old Nawab asked me (i.e. Dr. Forth) if it was true, I told him that it was a malicious report of some who were not our friends and raised on purpose to prejudice him and his son against us.....The report of the English's going to assist the Begam arose from one Bailey.....The *Agababa*, a son of Suffrage Cawn, being under the protection of the *Begum* and apprehensive of disputes with Souragud Dowlet after the old Nabob's death, was desirous of entertaining some Europeans in his service.'¹⁴

When after Aliverdi's death, Sirajuddaula succeeded to the Subahdarship of Bengal, Ghasiti Begam resolved to put up a rival claimant, Muraddaula,¹⁵ son of Pachaculi Khan,¹⁶ who was under her care and tuition, to the Nawabship, being prompted to such an action by her lover, Nazur Ali.¹⁷ 'As she was possessed of immense riches, got 20,000 of the military over to her party, with which she entrusted herself at Moota Geel (Moti Jhil) near Muxadavad (Murhidabad) at the Chuta Nabob's palace ; and took care to be well supplyed with all sorts of arms and ammuni-

11. Bengal Past And Present: supra, p. 124.

12. Ibid.

13. Hill: Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. xix, p. xlvi.

14. Written from Chinsura, dated 16-12-1756.

15. Srafton: supra, p. 54.

16. Hill. 11: Bengal, supra, Vol. I, p. 249.

17. He was 'a man in the style of Hussein-culy-qhan, tall, stout, and handsome. This man, who ran away from Bengal with 12015 lacs in jewel, and God knows how much more in cash, returned into that country in the year 1780, poor and distressed, obliged to live in his old age at the expense of a dance-woman, an old acquaintance of his; he had squandered all that treasure at Dice at Banaras.' Seir Mutagherin: supra, Vol. II, p. 186 f. n.

tions ; but in want of provisions, the Nabob having secured all the avenues leading to her camp, whereupon, many of her military upon her refusing them to attack the Nabob's forces, deserted her ; and her husband's friends interposing between her and Seir Raja Dowlet, she suffered herself to be imposed on, and compromised matters ; which was no sooner done, but Seir Raja Dowlet took her forces in (his) pay, and having her then entirely at his discretion, plundered her of all of her riches,¹⁸ to put it out of her power to make head against him hereafter'.....¹⁹

Such conflicts between Sirajuddaula and Ghasiti Begam had arisen earlier too. Ghasiti had interceded with her sister, Amina Begam (mother of Sirajuddaula) and obtained release of her trusted minister, Rajballabh who had been imprisoned by Sirajuddaula during Aliverdi's reign.²⁰ This undue advantage of Ghasiti Begam was not liked by Sirajuddaula. The latter, seeing his failure in teasing her aunt, demanded next time the severed head of Mir Nazur Ali, her lover (from her), 'who had sustained the honour of royal family by frequent nightly visits' to her apartments. But she could not obey the order,²¹ which led to Sirajuddaula's expedition to Moti Jhil,²² where she was fortified with her lover.²³ In the scuffle that followed, Ghasiti was 'made a prisoner and her pallasces and possessions seized and confiscated to the Suba's use'.²⁴

Sirajuddaula had a personal grudge against Rajballabh, the faithful minister of Ghasiti Begam, who had declared himself

18. The treasure of Ghasiti Begam was known to be beyond any estimate. But according to common report, it was something like 32 crores of silver money—i.e. 800 millions of British money then. Hill: *supra*, Vol. III, p. 218. In a letter of Governor Drake 19-7-1756, she is mentioned as 'one of the most powerful engines of war in these eastern parts', as she had much wealth.

19. Narrative of the capture of Calcutta from April 10, 1756 to November 10, 1756 by William Tooke. See Orme MSS. O. V. 19, Bengal 1756, pp. 5-46.

20. See letter of Holwell to the Court of Directors 30th Nov. 1756 in Hill: *supra*, Vol. II, p. 3.

21. See Trans. of Extracts, from a MS entitled *Revolutions in Bengal*, Hill: *supra*, Vol. III, p. 217.

22. The Moti Jhil or the Lake of Pearls occupies now a part of a deserted bed of the Bhagirathi. Nawazish Muhammad built there a *sangidan* or stone-hall, a mehalsara or harem, and a mosque. Bengal Past and Present: *supra*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 203.

23. Seir: *supra*, Vol. II, p. 156; Narrative of the succession of Sirajuddaula etc., by Governor Drake, 19-7-1756, Hill: *supra*, Vol. I, p. 119.

24. Hill: *supra*, Vol. II, p. 3.

openly a partisan of Ghasiti. He had once imprisoned the above minister but for a very short period. When the minister saw that the end of Aliverdi was approaching, he, in order to ensure the safety of his family at Dacca (from Sirajuddaula, the heir-apparent) wrote a letter to Mr. Watts, Chief of Cossimbazar, saying that his family in the course of their intended pilgrimage to Jagannatha Temple at Puri, would visit Calcutta, and begged that permission for them to stay there for a couple of months.²⁵ Rajballabh had considerable influence over Ghasiti Begam, and his power at Dacca might be of the utmost consequence to the East India Company's affairs there. Moreover, Sirajuddaula was their enemy and Ghasiti Begam was conspiring to thwart his ascent to the throne and therefore, if she succeeded, it was thought it would be of great benefit to the English. As Rajballabh was Ghasiti's right-hand man, the Company readily consented to Rajballabh's proposal, and gave a safe asylum to his family, including his son Krishnadas on their arrival in Calcutta.²⁶

After settling affairs with Ghasiti Begam, Sirajuddaula bought off the Nawabvazier of Oudh with a part of Ghasiti's wealth.²⁷ Sirajuddaula now dealt with the Nawab of Purnea and the English who had become the allies of his aunt. The English had Krishnadas, who had carried off a fortune which partly belonged to Ghasiti Begam. They surmised that Sirajuddaula would never be able to carry his point in the succession question (as he was universally despised), and therefore carried on secret correspondence with Ghasiti Begam, and withdrew to Calcutta her treasures, which she wished to put in a place of safety, and also those of Rajballabh, chief Diwan. It is said that the English had also an understanding with the Nawab of Purnea.²⁸

In the Great Bengal Conspiracy of 1756-57, Ghasiti Begam gave the remains of her wealth to assist Mir Jafar in order to revenge herself upon Sirajuddaula.²⁹ She rendered help to Mir Jafar also by taking interest in his behalf with everyone whom she thought to have conceived some attachment to her concerns. 'To these she presented.....a long list of the wrongs she had,(in order) to claim at their hands all the rights which

25. Ibid, pp. 119-20.

26. Bengal Past and Present, Vol. XXXI, Pt. 2., p. 126.

27. Hill : supra, Vol. I, p. xlvi.

28. Trans. of the first part of a Memoir by Monsr. Jean Law, Chief of the French Factory at Cossimbazar, Hill : supra, Vol III, p. 163.

29. Ibid. Vol. I p. clxxxiii.

Aliverdi Khan's daughter and Nawzish Muhammad's consort, must have acquired over their gratitude. She recalled to their minds all the favours which they had received from her family.....shetook care to distribute it (the gold which she had) adroitly (among these) ; she even sent some to Mir Jafar Khan.....Affairs now came to that point and everyone of the grandees, tending to one common centre in view, which was to remove Sirajuddaula. everyone pointed his efforts that way.....³⁰

The result of the activities of the conspirators was the Battle of Plassey, which was decided in favour of the English, who had raised the arch-traitor—Mir Jafar—to the *musnad* of Murshidabad, and which marked the preliminaries for the establishment of British Empire in India. But, Ghasiti—the chief conspirator had to retire in exile—as a reward for her intrigues which she had carried on against Sirajuddaula.

'To the Zanzira Palace (at Dacca), where through the clemency and kindness of Aliverdi Khan and Nawazish Muhammad, had long lived the wife and children of Serferaz Khan,³¹ there came after the battle of Plassey, less honoured and well dowered the household of Surajudowlah—the proud daughters of Aliverdi Khan himself'.³² Both Ghasiti Begam and Amina Begam in the days of their father's rule, had played important part and seen strange and chequered times. Ghasiti Begam had lived in luxury in Murshidabad and after her husband's death, had retired to her splendid palace at Moti Jhil, the Pearl Lake, 'near Murshidabad a stately pile, ornamented with pillars of black marble brought from the ruins of the ancient capital of Gaur.'³³ But soon her fate led her to such a wretched conditioned as to have made her retire to the Zanzira palace 'in the most disgraceful and shameless neglect.' A few months after, her younger sister, Amina Begam joined Ghasiti. 'It was,' says an English writer recounting the fate of such ladies of the harem of the royal family, 'thus a strange company that gathered within the walls of the Zanzira Palace and looked out at the Great City of Dacca across the Buriganga. The family of Serferaz Khan still inhabited the best apartments, living

30. Bengal Past and Present, supra, Vol. XXXI, Pt. 2 pp. 127-28.

31. See Tarikh-i-Bengalah by Salimullah (RASB MSS Collection) f. 104B, and Riyaz-us-salatin by Ghulam Hussain Salim, Eng. Trans., (RASB), p. 321.

32. F. H. Bradley Birt: The Romance of an Eastern Capital, 1906, p. 212.

33. Ibid.

in luxury, though still prisoners, the youths growing up in idleness with all the indolence of the East. It must have been with something of revengeful joy that they watched the approach first of Ghasiti, the eldest daughter of their proud enemy Aliverdi Khan, who had dispossessed them and theirs of their own, and then the younger daughter mourning the extinction of her dignity, with her widowed daughter-in-law by her side, a mere child, yet with a child of her own at her breast. The banks of the river, it is said, were crowded to see them arrive, the wife, (the aunt,) and mother and child of the man whose name had become a by-word throughout Bengal for cruelty, debauchery and oppression.³⁴

Mir Jafar, after assuming the Nawabship of Bengal had directed Mir Miran, his younger brother, to remove every obstacle from his path. Miran, suspecting Ghasiti and Amina being his brother's enemies, wrote repeatedly to Jussarat Khan, the Governor of Dacca, to put those aged and unfortunate ladies to death. But Jussarat was a generous soul who owed his bread and preferment to those ladies and to their deceased husbands.³⁵ He replied by begging that he should be relieved of his post, as he is unable to carry out such as odious task. Miran deputed a friend of his to Dacca with instructions to induce the ladies at the Zanzira Palace to embark in a boat by deceiving them to understand that they would be sent to Murshidabad, and to sink the boat in mid-stream.

Preparatory to this iniquity, Ghasiti and Amina were conveyed to a lonely place. But Miran's real intention was betrayed by the emotion and tears of his agent. 'Mother', said he to Ghasiti Begam, 'you have eaten nothing the whole day; eat something for you are going to take a long journey, and—'; here he was interrupted by his own tears and sobs.

The once haughty Ghasiti Begam broken and cowed took fright and shed tears and cried out against her fate, but the younger Amina endeavoured to console and pacify her: 'Sister', said she, 'Why such fears, and why weep? We are destined to die one day; let that be this'. Here she paused and assuming a calmer tone added: 'Sister, as we ought to thank God that we are offered this method of expiation, and that we are not going without having placed our own load on the shoulders of Miran.'

34. Ibid.

35. Miran's action was really foolish, as to put to death those who are in exile, forgotten and reduced to poverty and distress, is a breach of the law of humanity.

The Begams, after performing the purifying ablutions (*Wazu* ?), and putting on clean and white clothes, appropriate to the occasion, begged God to pardon their sins, and then bade the agent of Miran to execute Miran's orders. Seeing him hesitate, Amina made a prayer : 'O God Almighty, we are both sinners and culprits, but we have done no harm to Miran. On the contrary, he owes everything in the world to us, nor have we had any other return from him than this unjust order to put us to death. We hope, therefore³⁶ that after our death, Thou Sendest Thine Lightning to crush his guilty head, and to exact from him a full revenge on our own account and on that of our children'.³⁷

After these words, their cries, which they had begun to make, rang out across the stillness of the waters far into the night, but no help came. Mir Miran's man with much reluctance on his part slowly drew out the plug which held the hole at the bottom of the boat and the boat began to sink slowly. The boarders of the boat³⁸ perished miserably. Such was the end of the once proud family of Aliverdi Khan. It seems that their prayers prior to death were heard, for after a few days, a thunderbolt descended amidst a rainstorm and struck Mir Miran, and the cruel man died.³⁹

Ghasiti Begam thus filled a prominent chapter in the history of Bengal during the eighteenth century. With her life were connected some of the important incidents of the period, which led to the rupture between the English East India Company and Sirajuddaula—a rupture which culminated in the Battle of Plassey, the downfall of Nawab Sirajuddaula, and ultimately the foundation of the British Empire in India.

36. It is noteworthy that the style of the prayer runs in the same strain as those petitions to Judges ; and it ends in the same words used in filing a bill in a court of a Judge.

37. *Seir Mutaqherin*: *supra*, Vol. II, p. 369-371.

38. The five main sufferers along with '20 women of inferior note, and attendants' were : "Gassetta Begum, Widow of the Nabob Shehmat Jung ; Omna Begum, Mother of Nabob Serajah Dowleh ; Muzado-Dowla, son of Padshah Cooly Cawn, adopted by Shehmat Jung ; Lutfen-Nisa Begum, widow of the Nabob Serajah-Dowlah". See Long : *Selections from Unpublished Records etc.*, Vol. I, p. 428.

39. On 1st July. See Select Committee Proceedings, 24-7-1760. *Vide-Hill* : *An Abstract of the Early Records of the Foreign Department (1756-62)*, p. 65.

Early History of the Dutch Factories of Masulipatam and Petapoli (1605-1636)*

BY

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I

While Madras was a mere fishing village, Calcutta a marshy swamp, and Bombay an insignificant islet, Masulipatam (Machilipatam, the city of fish) was already a centre of immense commercial importance.¹ On Portuguese maps it was marked much more conspicuously than Bombay, which they passed to the English Royal Family as the dowry of the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II. When the Bahmani Kingdom took its place as an independent political unit, its eastern limit extended as far as Masulipatam² on the coast of Coromandel. This interesting town has thus survived the fall of the Bahmani Kingdom, the Golkonda Sultanate formed out of the Bahmani Kingdom and the Mughal Empire. Although shorn of its ancient commercial importance, it is still the natural outlet of the territories belonging to the Nizam of Hyderabad whose inability to include this ancient port within the bounds of his extensive kingdom places his state distinctively in a less advantageous position in commercial matters than the much less important but more accessible maritime states of the West Coast. At the close of the 16th Century, while the Portuguese maritime supremacy in eastern waters was still intact, Masulipatam was the chief port of the Golkonda state.³ The old controversy about the sovereignty and jurisdiction over what was called the French Lodge at Masulipatam and the presence in Masulipatam of a large number of European tombstones bring home to our minds the fact that this town was from the dawn of the 17th century the scene of the commercial operations of several European nations. While the date of the French Factory at Masulipatam is as late as 1669, the Dutch Factory was established there as early as 1605, a date famous in Indian History as marking the death of Akbar the Great.

* Extension Lectures delivered at Masulipatam in December 1937 under the auspices of the Andhra University with slight modifications

1. Balakrishna, *Commercial Relations between England and India*. .

2. Terpstra, *Koromandel*, pp. 13-14.

3. Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*.

To-day no one thinks of the massive Dutch tombs strewn about the coast. But these tombs perfectly cut by native workers under the direction of European stone carvers with floral ornaments distinctively Indian in character still survive the power of the nationality which they represent.⁴ It has been pointed out that among the 17th century tombs in Masulipatam there are none in French; But the Dutch tombs are numerous and cover dates so far apart as 1624, the year of the death of Jacob Dedel, Councillor and Head of the Netherlands trade on Land and Sea, 1687, the last year of the independence of the Golkonda Kingdom, 1725, 1728, 1734, 1735 and 1799. The 1734 tomb is that of the Merchant and Head of "this northern district, and second person of the entire coast of Coromandel". The 1799 tomb, the latest to be seen on the spot, is that of the wife of the Merchant and Head Administrator of the Factory of Masulipatam. These tombstones attest to the predominant part played by the Dutch in the commerce of Masulipatam in the 17th and 18th centuries. From the abundance of Dutch tombstones as contrasted with the absence of any French ones, the inference has rightly been drawn that the Dutch had more filial reverence for their deceased or else that, assuming a higher position, they behaved as if they were permanently established in the country.

The importance of Masulipatam in the 16th and 17th centuries is indicated by contemporary European observers. Thus Linschoten who stayed five years in Goa and finally sailed from Cochin in January 1589 speaks of Masulipatam as a place where was produced excellent fair linen of cotton, of all colours and woven with diverse sorts of flowers and figures very fine and cunningly wrought, better esteemed than silk for its fineness and cunning workmanship. Besides these piece-goods and chintz or cloth with printed designs, diamonds, rubies, pearls, agates, indigo, rice, etc., used to be exported.⁵ In the 17th century there used to be seen at Masulipatam a great concourse of merchants from Cambay, Surat and other places under the jurisdiction of the Great Mughal as also from Goa, Orissa, Bengal and Pegu. Commodities from Holland as well as those from the Moluccas, China etc. were sold at a very good rate. An English traveller mentions that many good

4. Rea, *Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company*.

5. Linschoten quoted by Balkrishna. Instruction to Steven Van der Hagen by the Chamber of XVII; Jonge, J. K. J. de, *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in oost Indie*, Vol. III, p. 495; *Reisebeschreibungen* Vol. I, Terpstra, *Koromandel*, p. 29.

and fine commodities were procured here, viz., all sorts of fine calicoes, plain and coloured, more especially fine *salempores* for quilts, diverse sorts of chintz of curious lively colours, as also chairs and tables with ebony chests of drawers, writing cases finely wrought inlaid with turtle shell or ivory, and that in these wares there was a great traffic into most parts of India, Persia, Arabia, China and South Seas as well as into England and Holland. In this place which in 1590 was the chief port of the kingdom of Golkonda and an important town, the first permanent Dutch factory in India was established in 1605 on a patch of dry ground surrounded by a dismal swamp, described by an English military officer as a place which no living creature but a Dutchman, a frog or an alligator would have selected for his habitation.⁶ The early European settlements were located among some salt marshes about a mile nearer the sea than the modern town. Hence this remark.

The second station in the Golkonda kingdom chosen by the Dutch during the early years of the 17th century as suitable for commercial operations was Petapoli (*Vetapolemae*) near Nizampatam, Repalli Taluq, Guntur District, close to the mouth of the River Krishna. Petapoli was a more dangerous anchorage for ships than Masulipatam and not so shut off from the wind. It was marshy and the climate was unhealthy. But there was available here a red dye called *Tambrevelle* which was the best to be found in the area. So the painted and dyed cloth of Petapoli was superior to those of Masulipatam. Indigo also could be bought here though at much higher rates than in Masulipatam. Cotton yarn, white stuffs and several other commodities also came to be transported to Holland.⁷ Other centres associated with Dutch trade in the Northern Coromandel region were Datcheron and Pallicoll. The Petapoli factory was established in 1606 and that at Masulipatam a year earlier as will be seen presently.

We shall now examine the circumstances which led to the arrival in Masulipatam of the Dutch, as the Northern Flemings who acquired their independence of Spain and joined with the Western Frisians to form the United Provinces of which Holland was the principal part have been called by the English after the assertion of their independence.⁸ They were the first European nation who

6. Account of Lieutenant Campell (1833) in *Kistna District Gazetteer*.

7. *Baldaeus*.

8. Sir Henry Johnstone, *Pioneers in India*, Blackie : London, 1913.

broke through the Portuguese monopoly of Eastern trade guaranteed to them by the Bull of Pope Alexander the VI and enforced by them with the strength of their naval power. Through his immortal volumes on the rise of the Dutch Republic depicting Holland's valiant fight for freedom, the historian, Motley, has enlisted for the people of Holland the lasting sympathy and admiration of all lovers of human liberty. Holland's advent into the east was also connected with that struggle for independence. When, at the close of the 15th century, the Portuguese discovered the sea-route to India and monopolised the Eastern trade, other European nations did not feel it as a grievance because they could buy Asiatic goods from Lisbon. But the situation changed when in 1580 Philip II of Spain, described as the classic bigot of modern times, completed the conquest of Portugal. Being the determined enemies of the Protestant Netherlands, the Spaniards closed the Portuguese ports to Dutch trade. Thereupon the Dutch who were dependent on the trade in spices from the east for their very existence determined to establish direct commercial relations with the eastern lands where the Spanish—Portuguese power claimed a monopoly, destroy the Spanish monopoly, and stock their markets once more with the products of the east. For this purpose several Companies were formed which by their mutual rivalry clashed with each other, buying spices in the east at very high prices and selling goods at home at very low prices. Eventually in 1602 they were united into one Company to which the States General granted the sole right of commerce with the East Indies for a period of 21 years. The charter of the Company was periodically renewed and, throughout the two centuries during which the Dutch dealt with India proper, it was this Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) whose small coins with the emblem V.O.C. were current for one pie in living memory in and near Cochin that was responsible for the activities of that nation in this country. While Dutch dominion still endures in the East Indies, it had disappeared altogether in India more than a century ago. Dutch historians were mainly concerned with their territories in the East Indies while Indian and English writers wishing to deal with the activities of the Dutch in India proper where they had extensive transactions in four regions i.e., Coromandel, Gujarat, Bengal and Malabar are heavily handicapped because the sources for the narrative of the history are in an unfamiliar language (Dutch) with an unfamiliar script. Of these four regions, the Coromandel Coast was the earliest scene of the Dutch United Company's activities.

Dutch historians usually divide the chronicle of Dutch activities in the East in the 17th and 18th Century into three periods viz.,

The foundation period	.. 1600-1678
Period of expansion	.. 1678-1758
Period of decline	.. 1758-1795 ⁹

It is with the earlier half of the first period that we are concerned in these studies. At the close of the foundation period the Dutch factories were vigorously working and earned the envious admiration of European rivals. The circumstances of the foundation of these two factories and the scope of their early trade may now be described.

At this period a factory did not denote a place of manufacture, but merely a trading post where factors or agents were stationed. The principal business of the Dutch in the east was to procure pepper and other spices for Europe. They found that they could bring from Europe no merchandise readily saleable in the Spice Islands. Indian piece goods were the recognised medium of the trade ; consequently, they established factories in India as subsidiaries to the principal business. The Dutch factory which was established at Masulipatam in 1605 was the first of its kind to be attempted by the United Company. It arose as a result of the naval expedition which left Holland in December 1603 equipped as a War fleet under the command of Admiral Steven Van Der Hagen.¹⁰ One of the ships was the *Delft* which had on board the Junior Merchant Pieter Ysaacxs Eijloff, destined to be the first head of the Masulipatam factory. In the directions given to the Admiral, Masulipatam was specifically mentioned as a place admirably suited for the purchase of cotton cloths just like Negapatam and Pulicat in the south. From Calicut where the fleet had touched in November 1604, the *Delft* was despatched to open trade with the Coromandel Coast. In the spring of 1605, the vessel reached Masulipatam, then in the possession of Mahomed Quli, King of Golkonda (1581-1611). Thanks largely to the co-operation of a Jew named Azzelan, the Dutch were fortunate to secure firm footing at Masulipatam and to enter into commercial relations with the people. Although there were Portuguese merchants in the town, they had ceased to receive reinforcements and their rivals

9. Meinsma, J. J., *Geschiedenis van De Nederlandse oost Indische Bezittingen*.

10. MacLeod, *De oost Indische Compagnie als zea mogenhed in Azia* Vol. I, p. 54 and de Jonge, *opkomst*.

were welcomed by the Indian authorities. Trade was opened. The *Delft* which had introduced the Dutch to Masulipatam left on the 25th April 1605 with a fresh cargo of cotton goods for Achin in Sumatra and Bantam in Java. Pieter Yssacxs Eijloff was left as Senior Merchant on the shore with a small number of assistants to set up a permanent factory. Thus the first voyage of the *Delft* had weighty consequences for the Company as the Commander and Merchants of that vessel were the founders of that cloth trade of the Dutch on the East Coast destined later to be so extensively and extremely important (*vide Terpstra and MacLeod*).

The vessel which brought the founders of the Masulipatam factory reached the place a second time on the 17th May 1608. It was on its way up the Coromandel Coast on this cruise that they reached Petapoli, the next place to be occupied on this coast, the most important persons on board being Van Dirk Van Leeuwen and Paulus Van Soldt. The latter was honourably received and allowed to trade, the toll to be paid for imports being fixed at 4%. Two most powerful Persian merchants who were visited promised to him to summon all the weavers dwelling thereabout and to get them make cloth according to the samples furnished. Dirk Van Leeuwen who had already been nominated as Merchant of the Coast by the Admiral Van Der Hagen was appointed head of the newly contemplated lodge. Orders were now placed according to the samples and a compound was got for 12 Pagodas. This was the origin of the Petapoli Factory.¹¹ When three decades later the English founded Madraspatnam and began to contract for woollen goods and "gelonghs", it became impossible for the Dutch to meet their demand in these commodities wholly from Pulicat. This circumstance added to the importance of Petapoli where the trade and procuring of cloth were carried on without anxiety or trouble and it became necessary to continue procuring a supply from Petapoli.¹²

Both the factories of Masulipatam and Petapoli were in existence, though with some intervals of inactivity or closure,¹³ down to the end of the year marking the close of the foundation period of Dutch enterprise in India. The commerce of North Coromandel was extended largely by the establishment of this Dutch Agency which developed a valuable business, importing spices, metals and luxury goods and loading textiles for the Far East, and making Masulipatam one of the two main ports at which the pepper and

11. MacLeod, Vol. I, p. 56.

12. Batavia Dagh-Register, 1640 : Entry for 27th November.

spices of India were sold in exchange for cloth. At this time Masulipatam was important as the chief Indian port of a Company which by reason of its unchallenged credit, its immense treasure and extensive usefulness was ranked the first in Europe. It may however be pointed out that while Surat on the West Coast owed its importance wholly to the activities of modern European nations, the commercial importance of Masulipatam dated back to a far distant past although in certain directions that importance was enhanced by the arrival of the Dutch and the English.

The nature of the commodities which were collected by the Dutch in Masulipatam during this period can be seen from contemporary Dutch and English documents. Cloth, indigo, diamonds, slaves and rice were the usual exports. The export of textiles for the Archipelago formed the chief business of the Masulipatam and Petapoli markets. Some considerable quantities of cloth were also exported to Europe direct. What Englishmen spoke of as cloth was called by the Dutch *Kletghees*. It was linen and was made of cotton wool or the same stuff that Calico cloth was made of and used for being cast about people's bodies as cloaks or mantles or as girdles and scarfs about their loins.¹³ Minute instructions were given to weavers and dyers on patterns being brought from Bantam or Batavia. Calamity and famine conditions sometimes interfered with the progress of Dutch business. Thus in 1631 although a considerable number of bales of cloth and cotton yarn were obtained, the native merchants would not enter into any contract with the Dutch regarding the delivery of cloth. These dislocations led to the utter ruin of the cloth trade. The English and other great merchants of Bijapur, Berhampore and surrounding regions with their great capital diverted the trade about the Coromandel Coast, and bought linen and fine cloth without regard of length, fineness and breadth far above their ordinary prices, thus paralysing the Dutch trade. One difficulty experienced with regard to the cloth trade was that, when cotton became too dear or too bad, the weavers were not always ready to make the demanded cloths of the required length, breadth and fineness unless they were paid excessively high prices. The weavers would rather make cloth of such length and breadth as they pleased and such cloth would not meet the specific needs of the market. There was vigorous competition by other nationals for the purchase of cloth. The eager buying of the Moors, English, Danes, Siamese, and Achinese who offered prices without any consideration made

13. Letters from Surat dated 20th August 1609 in *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*.

the Dutch on occasions give up their scramble for cloth. One great occupation of the weavers was the making of what is called Guinea cloth. When the foreign merchants were found keen on making rough small short cloth called *Salempores* and *Betilles*, the weavers would naturally be pushing on with them.

The Dutch Governor Ijsbarntsen of Pulicat, realising the hopelessness of the cloth situation at Masulipatam and despairing of restoration of the previous condition, tried for a supply at Petapoli and Neijipilli. He found competent people inclined to make linen but considered the price was immeasurably high. So he got dejected and returned to Pulicat, his mission unfulfilled. He reported that since the departure of two ships which had recently left, the trade of the Coromandel Coast had been bad and scanty as had happened never before. The great travail which the working people suffered through the avaricious governor, the great dearth of cotton, the eager and vehement purchase of Englishmen, Danes, Moors and certain Persian Ambassadors and merchants who with great state and suite came to Masulipatam and invested a large sum of money for the delivery of linen in the Vellore quarter not only made the supply too dear but also prevented any supply from being available. At the end of the year 1634, the cotton yarn was so gone up on the Coromandel Coast that the price of a bale of 150 pounds Hollands which could formerly be bought for 12 or 15 Pagodas at the highest rose to 20 and 22 Pagodas. But as the cotton harvest that year was very good, it was hoped that there would be a fall of prices. One factor which had to be taken note of in the prosecution of this trade was the availability of cash for making purchases. When Dutch boats called at Masulipatam and relieved financial stringency as they did in October 1636, the factories on the Coast became so excellently provided with cash and merchandise that in the next year a large amount of cargo could be bought, and there was a prospect of cotton not failing although the weavers, because of the continuance of the dearth, were inclined to neglect the making of coarse linen. If that continued, the yarn was likely to become scarce. The fine ducks were being greatly sought by the Moors and the great ones so that they became almost unpurchaseable for the Company. Also, the extraordinary rainfall greatly hindered the procuring of both kinds of cloth. There was however, one circumstance that led to the progress of the cloth trade in Masulipatam at the time. This was the wars and disturbances that prevailed in the Carnatic which led to the abandonment of the lands round Pulicat; the villages where the fine cloths were made were mostly burnt and the people had run away.

Consequently there was an increase in the cloth trade at Masulipatam, Petapoli and other Golkonda factories.¹⁴ Thus we can understand how in spite of the difficulties mentioned above, the procuring of linen in Masulipatam for a time made excellent progress. This was a grievance to the English, Danes and Moors who contemplated with regret the high prices they had to pay as contrasted with the Dutch who had stored a good quality at a reasonable price.¹⁵

Even when there were difficulties, there was a silver lining in the cloth situation. This was the excellent system that had been introduced by the very able Governor, Ijsbrantsen. He brought everything to such system that all the linen was now made perfect with regard to length and breadth. It was brought to such a condition that the weavers made exactly according to order. The weavers promised that there would be no shortage of cotton and that things would be brought to the previous prosperous state. In 1634 the cotton harvest was very good and 110 bales of cloth were delivered from Masulipatam at Batavia. Next year a shortage in the supply of cloth was noticed and a ship destined for Persia from Batavia was held up for sometime owing to this shortage. At this time goods were first taken to Batavia and thence conveyed to the eventual destination. Owing to the lack of supply at the place of manufacure, several other ducks were made for the fatherland and the East Indies in accordance with the ideas of the weavers.

Next to cloth the most important commodity collected for export at Masulipatam was the important bluc dye-stuff called indigo prepared from several leguminous plants which abounded in the Krishna delta. The sediment from a watery extract of the plant was dried and formed into small cubes of the dye-stuffs which had a deep blue colour with a coppery tinge. The hinterland of Masulipatam supplied indigo and considerable skill was required on the part of the Company's factors in dealing with this business. English letters tell us much of Dutch activities with regard to Indigo. Dutch agents resided in the Indigo-producing districts two days journey from Masulipatam and exerted themselves briskly in making purchases. English merchants of Masulipatam noted with envy how the Dutch in 1615 had purchased reasonable quanties of indigo at cheap rates. The English were mightily afraid

14. MacLeod, Vol. II, p. 167

15. *Batavia Dagh-Register*, 1637 : Entry for 14th March,

that the Dutch might engross the whole supply into their hands and that they would get only what the Dutch rejected. Anglo-Dutch rivalry in purchasing Indigo was well marked.

The Dutch wanted to secure indigo at prices which were unremunerative for the producers. Thus in 1634 the Dutch under-merchant delegated to explore the situation reported that they found the land untilled with no sign of human activity. The stock was dirty and withered and the prices so excessively high that the under-merchant did not think it advisable to buy any. They encouraged the cultivators and induced them to cultivate indigo and promised that they would be bought at the former price and a little more. Thereupon the merchants promised to comply with the request of the Dutch merchants. The situation did not improve very much. Two years later, in June 1636, the Dutch governor Carel Reingersen had sent envoys to the indigo land about Masulipatam. But the junior merchants sent there returned fruitlessly and brought very little because of the extraordinary high prices caused by the scarcity of cultivation i.e., 14 to 16 Pagodas for the littel or 288 lbs. It was therefore thought inadvisable to buy any large consignment. But the Moors and Banyas bought large quantities and took them into the interior. The alternative rise and fall of hopes about the indigo crop on the part of the Dutch merchants afford interesting reading. Thus the merchants felt jubilant when they noticed on one occasion that the indigo about Masulipatam stood passably fair. They hoped that about September 1636 there would be a great crop in case the greatly increasing heat and the hard rain did not hinder it. They were waiting with anxiety to see whether those hopes would be fulfilled. However, the governor was diligent about sending a senior merchant again to the indigo country at the time the indigo was cut not only to promote the securing of a supply but also to induce the cultivators to sow it in future and to advance some money for it. Though good supplies were available, the Dutch could not always buy because of the high prices asked by the sellers and competition on the part of the other buyers. Thus the *Batavia Dagh-Register* of the 9th October 1636 mentions that on one occasion when there was a consignment of 100 littel tolerably good, the high prices charged by the sellers i.e., 55 and 58 Pagodas the littel or 288 lbs. and the presence of many merchants of Kolhapur and Bijapur who had already appeared for the purchase of the same made the Dutch give up their project of buying. The producers were also suffering because of the uncertainty about the prices. Thus in 1637, on the reports of several merchants that a good quantity of

indigo was available in certain adjoining areas, the Dutch in Masulipatam sent a party with 1200 Pagodas to make a trial. Parcels of 288 lbs. were acquired in great quantities at 42 Pagodas and even less. This was considerably less than the price level in the two previous years which was 55 Pagodas per parcel. It was reported that the very high price of the previous year induced the cultivators to produce a large crop. The Dutch felt that they should in future take care about the quality of the crop. Throughout the period, indigo formed an important item in the cargo despatched by the Dutch from Masulipatam. About 650 to 1000 cwt. of indigo was annually exported from this port during the years 1605 to 1658, stress having been laid on the importance of Masulipatam indigo as early as 1613.

Much attention was paid by the Dutch merchants of Masulipatam to diamonds. In 1615 a Dutch merchant was sent to Bijapur to investigate the possibility of buying diamonds in exchange of European jewels. Often false rumours of large buying on their part were deliberately set afloat in order to terrify other nationals from buying; the intention of the Dutch was to prevent a fall in the price of diamonds which would be the case if a large quantity was available for sale in Europe. Thus in 1622 the Dutch succeeded by this means in restoring diamonds to their former price and the supply also became exceedingly limited. We find them borrowing next year on interest 10,000 Pagodas. This with an equal sum they had in cash specifically set apart for investment in diamonds was to enable them to make large purchases. They set up a mill in their own house at Machli Bunder (the portion of Masulipatam actually lying on the coast) for better accommodation of the diamonds. They also built a house for the Company at the diamond mine besides a private house for his own use built by one of the Dutch agents. Thus the trade in diamonds was mainly followed by the Dutch. The mines were open and the Dutch were getting a good supply although the English at Masulipatam could not come across a supply nor learn of the price level. What the English saw reaching Masulipatam was very small and dear and also foul and they had to pay heavily for the same. As the Dutch raised the price of diamonds borrowing large sums when they had no ready money, the English had a chance to buy only when the Dutch were short of cash. One reason for the high prices of diamonds was the disturbed political conditions of the time. Thus in 1631 there was strife between the Naick of Ezagonda Palem whence diamonds were lately brought and the Naick of

Condaurera, and the roads were closed for a while. When the roads were opened, the prices came down to a reasonable level. The wars of Shah Jahan in the Deccan with the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur had also the effect of closing the roads for the merchants and holding up further merchandise. In 1634 the Governor Ijsbrantsen proceeded from Pulicat to Masulipatam intending to spend 50,000 guilders on good and pure diamonds and sent competent delegates to the mine. The Dutch sometimes found that large buying by Indian merchants deprived them of a supply; thus in 1638, before the Dutch merchants reached the mine, a caravan of Banyas had left the mine in Palein with 1,00,000¹⁶ Pagodas worth of stone for selling in Goa, and the Dutch merchant had to return without doing much business, bringing with him not more than 1519 Pagodas worth of mostly very small stones. In Masulipatam and Petapoli only 95 pieces of passably good stones could be bought that year. When the Dutch could not buy at the mine, they bought from other places. Thus in 1636 they bought 88 pieces weighing 66½ maunds from Petapoli. On the whole, the diamond trade formed an interesting item in their purchases. Rice was also an article of export. But the supply could not be relied on owing to heat and shortage of rain. Saltpetre is also mentioned. Dutch exports from Masulipatam of iron and steel were at times large. By the year 1636 they were exporting Bengal sugar from Masulipatam and the business greatly expanded in the forties, the quantities annually sent to Batavia in this period being about 5,00,000 lbs.

A very reprehensible act of these Dutch merchants who were fighting for human liberty in their own land was the part they played in the slave trade of the time. Between the various ports of India and other Asiatic countries a great amount of slave trade was being carried on. The existence and continuance of slavery was attributed by Linschoten to the Indian polity of his day. At every 10 or 20 miles or rather in every village or town there was a separate king or ruler of the people, each of them differing from the other in law, speech and manners, whereby most of them were at war with one another. Those who were taken prisoners by either side were kept as slaves and sold like beasts. Even whole families came to offer themselves as slaves. The Portuguese made a living by buying and selling them, and the Dutch did not despise the exportation of slaves from India to Java in their vessels. A ship which left Masulipatam on the 23rd

16. *Batavia Dagh-Register*, Entry for 9th October.

February 1631 for Batavia contained 150 slaves, both boys and girls. The sale of such a large number of living beings, says MacLeod, was the consequence of the famine brought about in India by the continuance of wars. In 1624 we find certain ships leaving Masulipatam with the main object of buying slaves from Arakan. The Dutch Governor Ijsbrantsen did not like this business and protested as the Company was being despised by native rulers because of their complicity in this transaction. The incursion from Arakan into Bengal of slaves caused the Mughal Emperor in 1626 to request the Sultan of Golkonda not to permit carrying of goods from Masulipatam to Arakan with the result that no ship from Masulipatam was thereafter allowed to proceed to Arakan. However, in December of that year there reached at Masulipatam a ship with 400 slaves from Arakan. In 1631 slaves are again mentioned as being brought from Batavia along with other wares like rice, gun-powder and saltpetre. Three years later, the Batavia Diary mentions with regret that, owing to the great deaths, slaves could not be secured and that the ships disappointed them by bringing them only seven slaves who had been bought for much higher prices than previously. On the whole, there is adequate evidence that slaves formed an important item of export, and occasionally also of import. Thus the main exports of Masulipatam at the beginning of the 17th century were calico and muslin, fancy goods and yarn, indigo, diamonds and slaves, the destination being Malacca and beyond, Achin, Pegu, Tenasserim, the Persian Gulf and the Coast regions.

We shall now proceed to examine how these purchases were financed. This was done in three ways (1) by bringing gold or silver from Europe, (2) by borrowing in the East, (3) by engaging in Asiatic trade and remitting the profits in goods in Europe. The Dutch had the advantage that the Government of the United Provinces did not levy any customs duties on gold and silver released from Holland for this purpose. This was not the experience of the English. One useful method of financing Dutch purchases was to bring spices from the East Indies and sell them on the Coromandel Coast. The Batavia Diary of May 1637 definitely states that owing to the shortage of merchandise particularly in hides, nutmeg, shells, mace etc., His Excellency resolved to borrow money at 1 or 2 % for preventing the English and Danes from scoring an advantage over the Dutch. The usual imports to Masulipatam were Reals of Eight (a Spanish silver coin of the value of about Rs. 2/-) Cameleopard nails, nutmegs, mace, cloves, tin, lac, quicksilver, vermillion, raw silk and gold. Competition

between the Dutch and English lowered prices of articles introduced by them into India and enhanced the prices of the commodities they wished to purchase. Complaints were heard that the goods brought did not always come up to the weight indicated on the notes brought by the conveying ships. These spices were esteemed highly. The insecurity of the roads sometimes caused the wares to remain unsold in the warehouse. The roads between Golkonda and Berhampur were continually taken by the Mughals and yet not open notwithstanding the fact that there were found in Masulipatam with large quantities of money, multitudes of merchants who would show themselves up when the roads were open. When the cloves were found to be short of weight, the Dutch agents sometimes resorted to questionable practices. When a consignment was found 3,000 lbs. short, they caused 12 large vessels of water to be poured into it and then the cloves were to be found 3,500 lbs. in excess so that it was made heavier by 7,100 lbs. of water. Consequently it became mouldered and savourless and went down in price. Purchases also went down. Sometimes, when the cloves were found to be not much in demand, large quantities were sent from the Masulipatam region back to Batavia for being sent to Hoogly and Pegu. With regard to cloves, consumers for a time benefited by the war of prices between the Dutch and the Danes. But in the end they had to pay and pay heavily for the monopoly established by the Dutch. The disturbed political conditions, for example the war between the Naicks of Tanjore and Gingi, intercepted trade by making the roads unsafe. Shortage in the supply of cloves received from Batavia had also the effect of preventing the Dutch from making their accustomed investment up-country in the three factories of Pallicaul, Petapoli and Datcheron. The low price of cloves brought about by the mutual competition of the Dutch and the Danes who had large stocks vitally affected the English who found their sales hindered. The English held that the Dutch were compelled to sell at whatever price they could get as they were heavily in debt and interest was accumulating. The same price prevailed at Surat and Masulipatam for the spices as the Batavia Council could convey goods to the two ports at the same cost.

The demand for commodities was unsteady. Sometimes there would be remaining large unsold stocks in Golkonda which made the new imports unsaleable and even spices of good quality went down in prices. At times the goods got spoilt. At other times, the rain prevented the merchants from coming. Always there was uncertainty. Red wood, Persian silk, sugar and even

cloth itself were also imported. When there was depression in Persian silk, both the Dutch and the English suspended their purchases. Gold was at times sold in small pieces at Masulipatam. Corals are also mentioned. This commercial activity implied prosperity, although the rate of wages for labourers was very low — a Real of Eight or Rs. 2/- per *mensem*. But the purchasing power of money must have been very high.

The success of Dutch commerce during this period was largely accounted for by the very sound organisation of their business. The Council at Batavia stands out in the records as highly efficient and exercising a strict supervision over outlying factories like Masulipatam. The Chief at Masulipatam was at first directly responsible to the Batavia Council which helped in maintaining discipline, curtailing abuses and developing and expanding trade on profitable lines. The two factories in Golkonda i.e., Masulipatam and Petapoli were at first independent of each other. Then each presided for two months by turn. The Governor of Petapoli had the exclusive right of deciding with whom the Dutch should negotiate for cloth. In practice, the two Chiefs consulted each other over the negotiations for trade with the natives which was of a complicated nature. Later, in 1609, it was resolved at Bantam that both the factories should be under a general head. Pieter Ysaacx of Masulipatam filled that place, Jan Van Wesick being in subordinate charge of Petapoli. Pieter Ysaacx, while proceeding overland from Petapoli to Masulipatam, drank too much and died. His corpse was brought to Masulipatam where his unexpected death evoked the sincere sympathy of Hindus and Mohammadans. Thus at Masulipatam was buried the man who had spent the last years of his life for the establishment of the Dutch trade on the Coast. He did not in the least injure the interest of the Company — a statement which cannot be made of all the other senior merchants. The death of Pieter Ysaacx came at a most unsuitable time. It was the time to finish the shipping of the cloth and things had to be done quickly lest the Portuguese should seize the opportunity to do all possible harm in the Dutch. The Council of the ships appointed Van Wesick as Senior Merchant at Masulipatam and President of Petapoli. Much as Van Wesick wished to leave that Coast, he realised that the death of Pieter Ysaacx made the situation critical. So he agreed to stay on for a year.

The question was now raised whether it was necessary to continue the Golkonda factories as the strong support

of the capable Pieter Ysaacx was no longer available and they could carry on trade at Pulicat in the South where an abundance of cloth supply was available. The possibility of reducing expenditure by abolishing the Golkonda factories was considered. It was seriously proposed to suspend the trade at Petapoli after they were assured of their position and free trade at Pulicat. It was however decided to continue the Masulipatam Factory for the following reasons :

- (1) Much gain could be made from the merchandise which used to be brought earlier by the Portuguese *viz.*, cloves, mace, nut-megs, porcelain, sandalwood and spialter.
- (2) Masulipatam remained of importance for securing the white cloth which could be procured here better than in Pulicat in which place the painted cloth was best obtained.
- (3) Van Wesick thought it no small matter that they could enjoy the indigo trade.

As the Dutch establishments now embraced much of the Coast — they were planted in four places *viz.*, Masulipatam, Petapoli, Pulicat and Tirupapaliyur — it was felt that unity was necessary so that there might be a head to deal with the enemies and to resist all the craft and unreliableness of the natives as also the unceasing plots of the Portuguese. It was necessary that one person should be appointed to exercise authority with a strong hand over all the four establishments. The authorities at Bantam also perceived the compelling necessity of having a common head over all the places to regulate with better order the purchase of cloth and other things. Also there was the need of merchandise on the Coast. Van Wesick who was already Senior Merchant of Masulipatam and Petapoli was appointed by the Director as General Head over the Coromandel. He was to reside at Pulicat. Thus Masulipatam ceased to be the chief place for the Dutch on the Coromandal Coast. But the Dutch Chief at Masulipatam, as is shown by the epitaphs on some of the tombs, was considered as head of the Northern Districts of the Coromandel and second person on the Coromandel.

Thus the Dutch Factories which had grown up haphazard on the Coromandel Coast without any definite plan were placed under one head. He would be under the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies appointed in 1609 to whom was assigned a position very nearly that of an officer of State with practically a free hand in

matters of Asiatic policy. This important alteration in the government of the Coromandel Coast, viz., the transfer of the head from Masulipatam to Pulicat actually took place only in 1615 when Samuel Kindt was appointed Commandeur of Fort Geldria (Pulicat) and at the same time Head and President of Coromandel. In 1617 the Directorate of the Coromandel was raised into a Government, its Chief at Pulicat being given the title of Governor. He also became extraordinary Councillor of the Indies. These elaborate arrangements have to be kept in mind for intelligently understanding the economic progress of the Dutch in this region at this time.

II

Some of the difficulties which beset the early Dutch traders in Masulipatam and Petapoli have already been incidentally dealt with. These difficulties were of various kinds.

- (1) Trouble caused by the Native Government.
- (2) The competition of private Dutch merchants who wished to violate the Company's monopoly.
- (3) Similar attempts of the English, the Danes and the French as also the opposition of the Portuguese.
- (4) Acts of God like floods and pestilence and famine as also difficulties caused by wars between the several princes ruling in the area and the consequent closure of roads.

Each of these affords material for a separate essay. In this section we shall concentrate on the obstruction caused to Dutch enterprise by the unfriendly and uncertain attitude of the subordinate Governors of Golkonda as also the ineffectiveness of the Central Government at Golkonda in controlling the situation.

When the Dutch arrived in India, the Golkonda State was a power to be reckoned with. Though powerless on sea, on land it was all powerful. A hundred years later when Golkonda was a Mughal Province, the Dutch even dared to attack the Masulipatam Fort. But throughout the foundation period of the Dutch (1603-78) in India, the power of Golkonda was strong. The Dutch were nervous about attacking the Portuguese and the French at San Thome, situated in Golkonda territory, for fear that the Masulipatam factory would be molested by Golkonda. Therefore they had to be careful in their dealings with Golkonda. In those days it was not possible for a newcomer to begin trade in an area as a matter of course. An understanding had to be come to with

the native Government. The idea of foreign trade was not unknown in the Golkonda Kingdom. Even before the Portuguese came, Chetty merchants had already been enjoying rights of extra territoriality, i.e., of being allowed to administer justice to their own members themselves without seeking the intervention of the country Government. This right was also enjoyed by the European Nations. But it was not something newly introduced by them. They were only availing themselves of a privilege already conceded to Chetty merchants at Masulipatam and Calicut. The power of the Golkonda Sultanate was not so strong as that of the Great Mughal. Hence these concessions were made to foreigners.

There were several obstacles to the good understanding with the native Government which was indispensable if trade was to flourish. This was not due to want of good will on the part of the Central Government at Golkonda. But whatever concessions might be granted by the Golkonda Government, they were not in a position to get them respected by the local officials. The term Governor, as Moreland and Chatterjee remark, perhaps conveys too high an idea of these officers, but the term is consecrated by tradition as it appears regularly in the Portuguese, Dutch and English literature of the period.

The Golkonda Kingdom in which Masulipatam and Petapoli were situated was founded by Koetb-oel-Moolk, Governor of Golkonda, who in the beginning of the sixteenth century had declared himself Sultan of Golkonda and the Telugu Country. Koetb Shah of Golkonda died in 1580 and was succeeded by Mohamed Quli who reigned till 1611. It was during the reign of this prince that the Dutch first came to the Golkonda Coast. Though received with pomp at Petapoli by the Governor Sideppa, the Dutch merchants did not succeed in concluding a treaty with him. The Governor who on an average cheated 16 *per cent* wished the tolls to be not lower than 16 *per cent* for exports and 3½ *per cent* for imports. He however suggested that if they went to Golkonda they might secure more favourable terms. Van Soldt and Pieter Willemesz., the under-merchant at Masulipatam, accordingly proceeded on this embassy. Van Soldt was kindly and magnificently received and obtained favourable promises about the tolls. Van Soldt had to leave suddenly on hearing of a disastrous flood at Masulipatam. But Pieter Willemesz returned later (19th August 1606) with favourable firmans from the King fixing import and export duties at 4 *per cent* in all places where the Company were or thereafter would be. All the weavers, dyers, smiths and other artisans working for the Company and having advance of money for the king or other men

should not be troubled till the work was completed. Brokers were free to go to the Company's Lodge and the Dutch were free to choose whom they pleased without any obligation to accept the Governor's decision. The company was excused payment of the tax called *Chhana-dalali* i.e., the stamp duty on linen amounting to 12 per cent, a privilege not possessed by other nations or even the King's subjects. Mir Jumla who was very powerful in the kingdom had however made the working of the firman depend on the approval of the Governor Sideppa. That confirmation was also obtained. The favour shown to the Dutch and English by Indian Princes is accounted for by the fact that the Portuguese created a strong feeling of disgust and dislike against them. This gave the Dutch and English a chance of gaining the favour or alliance of native Princes and displacing the Portuguese as the leading European people in the Indies. These nations were willing to help native Princes against the Portuguese because of the iniquities of the Inquisition at Goa which persecuted any Englishman, Dutchman or other foreigners suspected of adhesion to the principles of some Protestant sect. The treaties contained a guarantee on the part of the European nation to protect the Indian Prince against the attacks of the Portuguese and an assurance on the part of the Prince that the nation concerned could enjoy exclusive privileges of trade. The advantages gained by the Dutch were purchased at considerable material sacrifice. The cost of the embassy and presents in Golkonda amounted to 3,800 guilders. But in spite of the firman the men who remained on the coast were subjected to much vexation. For the confirmation of the Golkonda firman by the Governor Sideppa, the latter compelled them to lend him without interest a sum of 3000 pagodas. But that was not the worst. Sideppa had only given his personal confirmation. This was not binding on his successors who had to be separately placated. In Golkonda the Governorship could be filled every year. Thus the Dutch position was very unsettled. The Governor who could be yearly replaced farmed the administration from the King of Golkonda. He of Masulipatam had to pay 180,000 pagodas a year while the Petapoli Governor had to pay 55,000 pagodas. Besides this, the Governor had to make large payments to the nobles of the palace. Hence the Governors in their turn oppressed all who had dealings with them. The unreasonableness of the Governors and harbour-masters prevented the Dutch from having free trade at the two places. They would not only refrain from trade with the Dutch but also forbade the natives to carry on trade with that nation. They had the lodge broken open, and departed saying that they would have rather the Portuguese than this nation. Two

factories in the same region meant more oppression and heavier cost.

The Governor respected the firmans only as long as a Dutch ship lay in the harbour. As soon as the ship was gone, the Governor would begin giving trouble. Even the goods on which toll was paid were not allowed to be sold. The Governor not only refused to give satisfaction but also asked Lodewijk Ysaacx, brother of Pieter, now in authority at Masulipatam, 20,000 pagodas (apparently as a loan) for making two ships for the King. When this was objected to as a violation of treaty, the Governor maintained that he had a right to enjoy some money from the Dutch as they enjoyed free trade and he was losing the tolls. Eyloff was helpless. The Governor had the power to forbid all trade, and the goods were not safe in the customs-house at Masulipatam. So the Dutch agreed to lend 8000 pagodas on delivery of goods. Thus the Governor who recently paid back to Pieter Ysaacx in wares a debt of 3000 pagodas compelled his successor to give a large loan. The Dutch Officers were also forced to yield to the demand of the Governor and the harbour-master that to them alone should the goods be sold. For three months they were thus prevented from fetching the goods from the customs house and then they could do this only at a great cost because the Governor of the District changed. At Petapoli things were not so bad, the Dutch carrying on trade by agreement with the Governor. This agreement did not apply to purchases of cloth which were effected secretly. Not being anxious to continue the Golkonda trade under such difficult and humiliating conditions, the Dutch in Masulipatam and Petapoli turned their eyes on Arakan. They sent a mission there which was successful, and it was thought that this success would enhance their prestige in Golkonda.

When Pieter Ysaacx returned to Masulipatam and resumed charge in March 1608, matters were much worse than when he left in the previous year. During the absence of the Governor, the Sabandhar or harbour-master took the best of the Dutch wares for a very low price on the ground that they were for the King. Pieter Ysaacx protested and asked for the debts due from the Governor. The Sabandhar began openly to abuse the Dutch demanding that they should break up and trade only in the rainy season if they so badly treated the king who had given them free trade. The Dutch were reproached for not having protected the Golkonda ships against the Portuguese. On the streets the

Dutch were not safe. Several times they had been pelted by the Moors with stones. Pieter Ysaacx was indignant and was inclined to give up the Golkonda factories in view of the possibility of Arakan. Trouble also arose at Petapoli over an octroi imposed by the harbour-master over a certain quantity of porcelain dishes the Dutch had sold. But it was not so vehement as at Masulipatam and peace was speedily established. Still the Governors of the factories plotted against the Dutch who did not possess any real freedom of trade and had to sell their chinaware stealthily for fear of local authorities. On 12th November 1608, Pieter Ysaacx wrote that men in both factories could not trade with the Governors, or do so only very badly. The two heads wrote that the Dutch had been excluded and had to enter into contract over the cotton with the Governors who would not do what they were expected to. The position in both factories was perilous. They expected much good from a second embassy to the Court of Golkonda, in the first place to acquire security for the money lent to the Governor and further to secure permission to carry on trade with all merchants. The envoy had to take with him to the aforesaid king a gift of curiosities. More than the cost of the gifts, it was their character that mattered. We do not know whether the plan was carried out.

Serious difficulties again occurred at Masulipatam. The Governor of Masulipatam to whom Lodewijk Ysaacx had to lend such a large sum of money was removed from office and the Dutch received back only a small portion of his debt. The new Governor of Masulipatam named Pyleppa hoped to enjoy the same benefits as his predecessor. The factories did not want to lend him so much money as he wished. He therefore began to devise other means for his benefit. The native authorities began to ignore the contract concluded with Van Soldt. On the ground that the money was only for the ruling Governor, they could with decency ask the Dutch for duties which were not in harmony with the articles already agreed on. This Pyleppa did. With the help of his colleague of Petapoli, Namaiga, he asked the factories for the duty called *Chhapa-dalali*, the stamp duty on linen. This happened in June. The Governor felt that a command issued from Golkonda would make a better impression on the factory keepers than his own words. So there came in 1609 a Brahmin who was a clerk of the king of Golkonda and asked the factor 12,000 pagodas for the stamp duty of Masulipatam. When this also failed to move the Dutch, they perceived that they must try to take one of them to the headquarters to compel him there to agree to the payment of the duty. The Dutch were roundly called to the Court to negotiate

in the matter of the payment of stamp duty ; it led to no consequences. But the Dutch now gave a handle. In Petapoli a junior merchant entrapped at night a thief who was engaged in breaking into the Dutch factory. He and his assistant flogged the thief and delivered him further into the hands of justice. Three or four days later the thief died in prison. The Governors got the longlooked-for opportunity and charged the factors with having murdered the thief. Van Wesick managed to secure from the Moorish inhabitants testimony exonerating the Dutch.. When he reached Golkonda, it became clear that he was summoned simply because of the stamp duty. The Golkonda officials held that there was no case for the duty at Petapoli. At Masulipatam the Government had a stronger case. The Dutch envoys hoped to achieve their object by honouring Mir Jumla, the Chancellor with a present of 1½ candy sandalwood and 30 large mirrors. But Mir Junla thought this was too little for such a weighty matter as the sum Pyleppa claimed was 5000 Pagodas. The Dutch thereupon offered 250 Pagodas. But Pyleppa over-stepped the Dutch and promised a large sum. Mir Jumla now commanded the Dutch to pay 2000 Pagodas for the stamp duty. When it was answered that they had to await the coming of the ship, Mir Jumla refused also to excuse them the stamp duty of Petapoli, much less would he permit them to depart to the coast. The envoys were treated in an unfriendly manner on the streets by the dwellers of the city. As regards Petapoli, the Dutch gained their point. But it was different with Masulipatam. The Dutch received permission to depart on condition that the debts of the Governor of Masulipatam and the King should be left as security for this, and that with the coming of the Dutch ships, an envoy should proceed to Golkonda and negotiate the questions in dispute. Mir Jumla who in a month's time realised 35,000 Pagodas as presents from the different parties for his favour was perhaps the only person who derived great benefit from this affair. At Golkonda the envoys heard the complaint that the Dutch after scattering the trade of the Portuguese who formerly sent annually 200 vessels were themselves sending no ships, and thus deprived Golkonda of a living trade.

In 1610, when Van Wesick succeeded as head of the Coromandel factories, the old questions were still hanging fire. Van Wesick's journey to Golkonda had led to no definite results in the matter of the stamp duty. The matter had been dropped provisionally in the hope that with the coming of the Dutch ships an envoy should be sent to Golkonda in the name of the Dutch to settle the dispute. This hope was not fulfilled. So they had to come to terms with

the natives. As there was no definite agreement with the Governors of Petapoli and Masulipatam, the Dutch by a present secured as permanent law the provisional toll of 4 *per cent* without further claim while they could not help making a present to Mir Jumla for the redemption of the stamp duty. Now that the toll question was solved for good, the Governor of Masulipatam asked to be allowed to buy all the newly brought goods for 3000 Pagodas for the king ; if it was too much and he could not get the whole, he must at least be given cargoes for 1000 Pagodas ; without permission of the Governors, no trade was actually possible in Masulipatam and Petapoli. Sometimes merchants came secretly at night to do business with the Dutch factories but were punished if caught. What the Governors themselves furnished to the Dutch was bad because the weavers were not sufficiently rewarded, but the factory keepers were compelled to receive the same so that they might not be continually regarded as guilty. A change was effected in the native Government in 1610. In place of one Governor who farmed the administration, more persons were appointed by the king to govern Masulipatam.

The vexations of the Mohammedan Governors of Masulipatam and other harbours belonging to Golkonda showing no signs of abatement, Wemmer Van Berchem, now in supreme charge of Coromandel, left Masulipatam for Golkonda on the 23rd July 1612 with gifts for the king, Sultan Abdullah, and the great Moors according to the prevalent custom. The prestige of the Dutch had however fallen by reason of the disaster caused to them at Pulicat by the Portuguese. There came also an Armenian merchant from Masulipatam requesting the king to order the Dutch to restore to him his ship which they had seized, because it had Portuguese cargo on board. This cargo was under orders from Golkonda stored at Masulipatam. On the 10th August Van Berchem obtained audience with the Sultan. He complained of the treatment which the Dutch had already for five or six years experienced at Masulipatam and spoke rather inadvertently of the breaking of the armistice by the Portuguese, a matter which took place outside the Golkonda kingdom. The Chancellor Mir Jumla immediately hinted wittily that in his land the Portuguese had done no harm to the Dutch and that hostilities were not permitted there. For this reason he desired that the cargo should be given back to the Armenian because the vessel was taken in his neutral harbour. The Government of Golkonda on their side had a just grievance against the Company. They had lost the benefits of trade with the Portuguese, and Dutch ships did not come regularly although they

had great name and fame and their ships were well provided with guns and munitions of war. Van Burchem spent eleven days in enlisting on his behalf the sympathy of important noblemen. He had very little to offer to the Sultan. He presented a petition to buy up the import and export duties of Masulipatam for a fixed annual sum so that he might thus escape the knaveries of the Governors. The Government was prepared to permit the sale for 3000 Pagodas, but they went on pressing for the restoration of the Armenian cargo. Van Burchem wished to get away. He could not get a firman from the Sultan permitting his departure as the Chancellor would not act in the matter unless he secured a loan of 1000 Pagodas without giving an acknowledgment of debt. Eventually the court buffoon whom he humoured by the present of European clothes came to his rescue. The buffoon appeared before the king dressed more like a Frenchman or an Englishman than a Persian and reminded the king that Van Burchem had received no firman from Mir Jumla for his departure. This effort was successful. Van Burchem was immediately summoned by the Chancellor who was now prepared to give an acknowledgment of debt for the present and promised a passport within two days. On the 15th, he received a firman and besides that a letter of credence to the Governor and others at Masulipatam who had been troubling the Dutch calling on them to show proper honour and respect to the Dutch there. Thus, at great cost estimated by the English at 20,000 Reals or 15,000 Pagodas, the Dutch secured these concessions, i.e., of paying 3,000 pagodas *per annum* for the customs of the incoming and out-going goods at Masulipatam, whether ships came or not and 3½ per cent at Petapoli where formerly they had to pay 5 per cent. The native authorities however made up for this by buying inferior goods and making vile payments in goods unvendible and at excessive prices and by abasing the price of the European goods. Though the Dutch prevented many of these inconveniences through the costly firmans of the king, yet they did not altogether escape, indeed they were sufficiently plagued.

The Visitor, Hans de Haze, who arrived at Masulipatam on the 12th November 1616 to improve the position, seeing that the good conduct of the officers at Masulipatam after the withdrawal from Petapoli did not last long, asked and obtained again a firman from the Sultan of Golkonda to be freed from their sharp practices for 3000 Pagodas annually. So great, however, was the influence of these native officers at the court that the former was followed in eight days by another wherein the Dutch were forbidden to trade outside the town. Subsequently, the first firman was withdrawn.

In the native Government of Masulipatam, a not unimportant change took place in 1618. The Governor Mir Kasim was deposed and the Sirkail (Commander of troops) was appointed in his place. The Governor of the harbours, Alsim, was taken prisoner with all the Brahmins and succeeded by Etma Khan. This was however no improvement for the Company. The new Governor wished that all the trade should be carried on by his interposition. This De Haze decisively refused. The new Governor also pocketed the money paid for the exemption from tolls, and thereafter wished more taxes to be paid. These difficulties gave occasion at the close of the year to a serious skirmish. People of the Harbour-master wished to hinder the loading of goods. The junior merchant in charge having given a push to the native who complained to the Governor, the latter summoned the offender to his presence, abused him and caused him to be bound and beaten after being deprived of his rapier. Another Dutch merchant who went to rescue his comrade was also taken prisoner. On hearing of this, De Haze went to the Governor but found the door shut before him. Both the Dutch prisoners were brought out by the Kotwal, and De Haze took them with him. But on the way a party of 100 native soldiers who blocked the way had to be attacked. De Haze himself was wounded with a lance-cut on the hind part of the head, the junior merchant in the arm, a shipper in the breast, and the rib of an assistant was smashed to pieces. So they came back in the lodge fighting. De Haze made a written complaint to the Sultan of Golkonda who answered that a misunderstanding had taken place, and it must not be taken amiss. The Governor came with all the Mohammedan heads to De Haze asking forgiveness, pretending that strangers and not his people had instigated the trouble and that it would not happen again. Thus in the kingdom of Golkonda good control was exercised over the officials.

In consequence of the continued difficulties at Masulipatam, De Haze resolved to abolish the factory and bring it to Pulicat in order in this way to secure a better firman from Golkonda or to bring to their senses the Government who could not afford to lose the trade by a blockade that would be very effective. In June 1619 he shipped to Pulicat. But on the 22nd July De Haze came back to Masulipatam. Ten days ago an order was come from the Sultan to take the Governor prisoner and bring him to Golkonda. In place of Mir Kasim, Etma Khan who had shown himself friendly to the Dutch was appointed Governor—a proof that the Sultan did not want to miss the Dutch. At the same time firmans were sent to De Haze with the request that they should remain at Masuli-

patam and with promises of better treatment. Freedom was given to them to trade within and without the bander (harbour) without paying any toll provided the sum of 3000 Pagodas fixed long ago was paid. De Haze sent back this firman as in it there was no guarantee that the Governors should not resort to the old vexations, he wished to have it stipulated that those who acted against the firman should be regarded as rebels against the prince. On the 25th came another firman wherein what was desired was promised. It was the possession of an independent fortified base at Pulicat outside the Golkonda kingdom and armed naval might as contrasted with the absence of a navy for Golkonda which enabled the Dutch thus to take up a strong position. Because of the most recent firman from the Sultan, Van Dijke was invited by Mir Kamaldi to go over to Masulipatam. He had taken with him 19,000 Pagodas to resume the trade. On the 23rd October Andries Sourij, Governor-designate of the Coromandel, came overland to Masulipatam. For the sake of security he caused the valuables to be brought on board from the lodge and he unloaded the goods.

At Masulipatam new difficulties arose in 1621. Sourij wrote that in 1619 Mir Kamaldi had deceived the Director de Haze about the contents of the firman. It was now pointed out that it was not valid for the whole land so that the three thousand Pagodas which was being paid for freedom from toll appeared partly to be thrown away. Sourij thought that the Moors could be compelled only with force and reprisals. The Government had not however made itself sufficiently strong for that. In August there came a new Governor from Golkonda namely Mir Assim who had been harbour-master of Masulipatam in 1618 and was there accused of all sorts of knavery. In the higher position in which he was placed he conducted himself to the satisfaction of Sourij, a change for the good.

In January 1622 Sourij was succeeded by Abraham Van Uffeelen. He received a firman from Golkonda stipulating that for this once a Portuguese vessel seized by the Dutch should be released and that thereafter they could do as they pleased. Van Uffeelen and Sourij not being satisfied with this, the former went to Golkonda to plead about the matter. He took with him a magnificent present so that he might keep the prize. The Sultan took 5000 Pagodas and honoured Van Uffeelen with a house worth 200 or 250 Pagodas which the latter took for the Company.

The vengeance which the Mohammedan princes and magnates took against the seizure by the English of their ships was disastrous for the Dutch at Masulipatam. In November Van Uffeelen was taken prisoner with irons on both legs by the Havildar Mahmud

Tagi and three native merchants who carried on business for the Company were tortured to say how much capital there was in the lodge where 20 men were left for defence. A Dutch sea-captain who did not know what was going on approached and was imprisoned, his boat being dashed to pieces. Van Uffeelen was taken to Golkonda where he was shut up in prison for three days. This was repeated. It cost him 3000 Pagodas to come out free and receive permission for trade again. Because of the cruelties he endured, he died at Masulipatam in 1624. When Van Uffeelen was taken prisoner Jacob Cooper the captain of a Dutch ship lying at the harbour, seized a ship of Tenassarim intending to take more Mohammedan ships and liberating none unless Van Uffeelen was liberated. This fact which caused trouble later at Bagnagar was however not without consequences. The authorities recognised that the offenders were English and not Dutch who now came into grace.

Towards the close of the year 1624, Masulipatam was visited by Prince Khurram, the future Shah Jahan who, being repulsed by the troops of his father, passed through the Golkonda kingdom with a strong force which had apparently been reinforced and consisted of from 10,000 to 20,000 horsemen, 15,000 to 16,000 foot soldiers, 200 to 1000 elephants and 4000 camels. Though he did nothing at Masulipatam and went away quickly, three Dutch men who had guided him were seized and imprisoned when they returned. The Moors thus obtained an opportunity for plaguing the Dutch. The real cause of the Golkonda Governor's action against Uffeelen seems to have been the latter's unwillingness to help the Golkonda Government against Prince Khurram.

The Governor Van Uffeelen being dead, Marten Ijsbrantsen took himself to Masulipatam to try to bring the native Governor to reason and to restore peace. The still existing grievances against the Dutch were that they had done all sorts of things against the will of the Sultan of Golkonda and that they had seized the ship of Tennaserim. Over and above this, the people of Golkonda where a Dutch merchant was still staying when Van Uffeelen departed wished to cancel the existing contract and stipulate other conditions because at the time when the contract was made only two ships used to come in the year. At the time, much more was coming—a reason which was not unfair. After repeated interviews, Ijsbrantsen finally agreed that the ship of Tennaserim should be restored especially because the Sultan of Bijapur spoke of taking a portion that was destined for Dabol. The Governor appeared satisfied with the above arrangement; but, as he had not yet settled with the

English, it was feared in the Dutch lodge that Ijsbrantsen was not yet safe and he was advised to go on board. He proceeded to Pulicat and sent news to Batavia of the death of Abraham Van Uffeelen.

On the 27th March 1624 there departed from Batavia to the coast of Coromandel Jacob Dedel Councillor of India, accompanied by the senior merchant Adriaen Willemesz Goeree, with commission and particular instruction that if before his arrival the controversy between the company and the Moorish Government had not been settled, he should as Upper Merchant take the matter in hand, and by all possible means, seize his property and according to convenience take revenge. Jacob Dedel had seriously taken in hand the affair at Masulipatam but did not live much longer to continue his work. After a short indisposition he died on the 29th August in mysterious circumstances, great suspicions being aroused because of blue eruptions in several places on the dead body. His tombstone is perhaps the earliest now to be identified at Masulipatam. As soon as Ijsbrantsen received intelligence about this, he went on the 15th September to Masulipatam and made arrangements for its administration.

The trade at Masulipatam continued experiencing incessant troubles from the authorities. The Dutch were greatly oppressed by the tyranny and monopoly of the Moors. No merchant other than the permitted farmer was allowed to visit them. Native merchants who came were simply abused. The Moors placed in charge of Dutch factories received moneys for goods which had been supplied by the Dutch so that the latter were in great need and had to borrow from the Moors as they had reconciled themselves to the idea of the farming out of the lodge, whereby all imports and exports were subjected to the arbitrariness of a lessee who asked payment for its storing and despatch. The gold mine was worked only for the Sultan and yielded no trade. The sailing of the ships however did not diminish. During the year 1624 seven ships of the Company came to the coast to unload and load.

The Batavia Diary of 1625 records that the rapinous procedure of the Governors of Masulipatam still continued and the Dutch Director gave permission for a Dutch vessel to depart to the fatherland without transacting any business because of the iniquity of the people of Masulipatam since the inland war thereabout. The Dutch felt that they could take their revenge by putting an end to their trade at Masulipatam. This they could do because they could procure most of the goods they wanted within their own jurisdiction on that coast.

Goeree, having had a difference with a neighbour of the lodge about the masonry of a passage, committed violence while drunk. A complaint was made to the Sultan of Golkonda who imposed a fine of 3000 pagodas. If this was not paid, he would be taken to Golkonda. To escape both, he went on boardship where he drank hard daily, got sick, was brought back to the shore and died four days thereafter. Goeree was succeeded by Leibener from whom the Governor wanted to squeeze money. The home authorities' suggestion about the Dutch taking the contract for the Government of Masulipatam was set aside by the Governor-General at Batavia on the definite ground that the Dutch merchants could not hope to extort by tyranny the amount made by the Golkonda administration—a decision which was significant when we take into account the administrative efficiency of the Dutch in East Indies.

In 1627 Mir Jumla, Councillor of the Sultan, sent a command to keep the Governor of Masulipatam in close confinement. Taji was to be sent there for giving an explanation of the accounts. If the complaint of Ijsbrantsen had actually brought this about, he had simply caused a change from the frying pan into the fire; for this Taji, according to rumour, had farmed Masulipatam for five years for 140,000 pagodas, and Petapoli for 27,000 pagodas a year and he was the same who had imprisoned Van Uffeelen. The outlook was not thus encouraging, and the issue looked dismal. Taji forbade the buying and selling in the lodge by foreign merchants and farmed the trade to two native merchants; none other might carry on trade with the Dutch, the English, and the Danes. The English President at Masulipatam consulted with Ijsbrantsen as to what should be done. The Danes called for revenge. Already at Batavia discussions had taken place between the Government and the President and Councillors of the English for opposing the knavery together.

Continually Ijsbrantsen pressed the Government of Batavia and the Directors to take strong action for putting an end to this squeezing. He contrasted the weakness of the company at Masulipatam with his strong position at Pulicat. He wrote in 1627 that if Taji and the others had been in Geldria, the squeezed money would have been taken back. "With gentleness nothing is to be won from the Moors. Violence is the best medicine, but I fear that this shall not be made use of before the sickness grows greater."

The following is an example of how Mohammed Taji transacted business. The Dutch had sold him nutmegs for 114 Pagodas the bhar; he paid at 105 and subsequently pressed the under-farmers to buy them from him for 130. On the 14th July Moham-

med Taji went to Golkonda with a large quantity of presents ; he had come back on the 24th saying that for 160,000 Pagodas he had become the farmer for which he had to spend 15,000 Pagodas in presents. On the 30th September he went again to Golkonda and on the 12th November his brother came as Governor of Masulipatam. A ship which left Batavia in June 1628 with cargo for Coromandel brought instructions to the Governor Ijsbrantsen that the factory at Masulipatam should be withdrawn, that the people ashore should be taken in the ships, that the channel of Masulipatam should be seized and the richly loaded ships trading with Mocha, Pegu, Arakan, Tennaserim, Achin and other places taken under arrest so that the capital forcibly taken from the Company and its interest might be recovered, and through this means redress be found for all the damage that the Company's trade had suffered, and commodities which would be of use to the Company but could not be bought elsewhere without losses be purchased.¹ Hence in 1629 the Dutch Factory at Masulipatam was broken up and the blockade of the port by the Dutch began. This action was precipitated because the English at Armagaon said that they would also use force to recover their outstanding debts at Masulipatam. The blockade did not promise many prizes because several expected ships were ship-wrecked by storm. However it was of importance that the trade was stopped.² The blockade had its effect. The authorities entered into negotiations with the commander of the blockading squadron. A Royal firman authorised the Dutch to deduct the sum of 1,600 Pagodas extorted from them in six annual instalments from the yearly contribution of 3,000 Pagodas which they had to make to the Golkonda Government. This document further stipulated that all the natives were to be allowed a free intercourse with the Dutch and that gold and silver were to be permitted to be exported duty free.³ A further firman of the same year intimated the dismissal of the offending Governor and the appointment of another person to effect a settlement with them. The Dutch were invited to take up their residence again at Masulipatam and it was promised that all just causes of complaint would be removed. The strong steps resorted to by Ijsbrantsen had their effect. But he too felt that the blockade had not delivered the expected prizes and as it would not be proper to

1. *Batavia Dagh Register*, 1628 : Entry for 16th June.

2. MacLeod, Vol. I, pp. 485-486. Moreland : *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 228.

3. Golconda Firman of 1629 in Mackenzie MSS of Madras and in Heeres : *Corpus Diplomaticum Neevlande Indicum*.

stop the trade altogether, he was amenable to a settlement. Permission was taken from Batavia to re-establish the factory and it was agreed that the native ships should take passes from the Dutch. Thus their maritime sovereignty was recognised. The serchail (Commander-in-Chief) Mirz Roz—Bahan appeared actually to be the best of all who had been in authority in 1629. While the old enemy, Mohammed Taji died in 1631, a more acceptable situation was expected. However Mirz Ros Bahan, though appointed Serchail in place of Mahommad Taji, did not long hold that office as another who offered 75,000 Pagodas for the post was appointed. In 1632 Ijsbrantsen again visited Masulipatam where trade was slack. However it was hoped that because of the demands for contributions made on the Sultan of Golkonda by the Emperor Shah Jahan in the shape of presents, etc., trade would receive an impetus.

In 1636 the Governor Mirmarmath Sahij invited the Dutch Governor Reijniersen and requested him to send a large Dutch ship to Persia for conveying Moorish goods. Besides getting thereby ten or eleven thousand Pagodas as freight, they would also win the favour of His Majesty and many great ones. But Reijniersen refused the request on the ground that the matter had to be decided by the Governor-General to whom he would strongly commend the matter. The Governor-General thought that the Company's reverses in Golkonda were due to lack of proper presents to the Court. Gradually the Dutch began to win the favour of influential courtiers and their cause to prosper.

The prosperity of the Dutch aroused in 1636 the envy of the Governor of Masulipatam. This led to much persecution on the part of that dignitary. Through his pressure and violence, the Company's trade about Petapoli was so much closed that not a single piece of linen could be secured. He seized some of the wares at Petapoli and made the factors part with a quantity of money. He promised to redress the wrong; but on his actually going to Petapoli, he immediately caused some of the principal merchants to be gripped by their head on the pretext that they had much dealings with the Dutch and were thus diminishing his income. He complained that the Dutch and the agents of the Mughul and the Persian King traded according to pleasure and impoverished him. He was therefore intending to pursue such a course that the Dutch should no longer trade there. The Dutch thereupon proceeded to defend their factory. The Governor's attempt to rase the factory by sending 400 of his men failed owing

to the vigilance of the Dutch. The Dutch had to shoot, and two of the natives fell down. A Dutch servant who came with a message from Masulipatam was gripped by the head, his ears cut off and an arrow driven through his nose and then he was led to his town with warning that all weavers, defenders, merchants, etc., who frequented the Dutch lodge would be similarly dealt with. He caused the lodge to be beset with spies, and then departed to Masulipatam. The Golkonda Government however promised reparations for the terrible havoc wrought by the Governor. So the Dutch resumed trade and took cargo. The Governor Sahij got reinstated at Masulipatam in 1637. Despite these calamities, remarkable progress had however been made by the Dutch in Golkonda—a fact which was noted by the Portuguese Viceroy in his letter dated the 31st August 1638. The Sultan of Golkonda now sounded whether they would have the monopoly for sending goods to Persia. This was declined. The Dutch, wishing not to get alienated from the Golkonda Government, sent presents through the Persian Ambassador and Governor Sahij. In recognition of the same, the Sultan of Golkonda issued the following firman :—

“ I, King, resembling the rising Sun which lighteth the entire earth, next to God the greatest in the world, to the Captain of the Hollanders in Masulipatam, being mighty and as a tiger on the sea, head over the same, give this firman.

Under my sweet shadow have you for many years taken shelter and I say that (a short time ago) I have understood your meaning out of your letters. The Governor of Masulipatam has incriminated you and your people before me with much that you have done some violence to him and seek to introduce new customs, but we trust and imagine that it is not so. I have therefore commanded my Governor that he shall deal with you in all friendship and reasonableness. I have also expostulated with him if he has forced any money from you, whereon he has answered that if you prove before Sarsanat and Sabindar, he would restore it to you which I have also charged him. Also you shall inform me not only what you have suffered from him, but also of molestation that has happened from any other. You or your people should not act beyond the reasonable way or introduce any new custom. According to the contract made between you and me, be pleased to pay at the proper time, and then you shall trade with peace. If you suffer any violence from any one (whosoever it may be), make me know that. If it comes to my

knowledge, he shall be punished so as to be an example to others. You are my people. Pursue the trade peacefully. May this my word be trusted. This is my firman which all the Governors and other private persons must obey.

Given on the 29th of the month of Jamadissanin or according to the Christian reckoning on the 27th of November 1636."

The Sultan visited Masulipatam in 1639 with a retinue of 32,000 persons, but as a present had already been sent to Golkonda, suggestions about a further present were not heeded to by the Dutch at Masulipatam.

From what has been said, it will be seen that it was no easy problem for the Dutch at Masulipatam to deal with the Golkonda Government and its officers. It required great tact, uncommon discrimination, enormous patience and much shrewdness to get over the difficulties which could be caused by the oppressive and rapacious Governors; the Sultans in spite of all their exalted pretensions were not able to keep their distant subordinates under effective control. The activity of private Dutch traders, the rivalry of English and Danes, the insecurity of the times and unsettled political conditions as also natural disasters like floods which came with great severity in 1606, 1631 and 1679, to mention only three well-known occasions—all added to their difficulties, and it is a marvel that the Dutch Factories of Masulipatam and Petapoli continued to exist in prosperous circumstances throughout the foundation period ending with 1679 as is attested to by the very favourable pictures of the Dutch establishments given by the English Agent Streynsham Master. This was largely due to the wisdom and foresight of the Batavia Government which had able and masterful men who perfectly knew their minds, the excellent organisation of the Company and the businesslike qualities of its servants as also Holland's undoubted naval supremacy, able to inspire terror in native Courts which were not possessed of adequate protection on sea against Western Nations. Yet with all their great advantages the Dutch sought no higher aims than mere material prosperity to the complete exclusion of all rivals. Though vigorous in their commercial activities, they did not introduce their civilisation into the countries where they made enormous profits. They rendered no humanitarian service at any rate on the East Coast of India. Consequently, they were not destined to fulfill the promises which their early ideals had aroused in the minds of lovers of human

liberty. While destined to be the effective instrument for destroying Portuguese monopoly and dominion in India, they were not able in spite of all the clauses specially favouring them in the treaties made by native Princes to keep out their rivals, and, after the foundation of Fort Saint George in 1640, it was clear to all discerning observers that commercial monopoly in India proper would never be the portion of the Dutch. The future lay with the English who learnt by all the mistakes of the Dutch and copied their excellent commercial and administrative organisation. It sometimes happens in history that one sows, another reaps. The Dutch flag ceased to fly in India proper long before the disappearance of English rule in India. And all that remains to remind the curious students of their ambitions and achievements is ruined fortifications, their imposing tombstones, their quaint houses in some coast towns and large volumes of records in the Madras Record Office collected from Bombay, Bengal and Malabar. The subject of the Dutch commercial enterprise is one which affords enormous scope for fruitful research to the students of South Indian History and it is to be hoped that enterprising students would feel persuaded to undertake the rather ambitious task of securing the necessary proficiency in old Colonial Dutch, both script and print, indispensable for unearthing the precious treasures of historical information carefully guarded for future generations in the archives at the Hague, Batavia, Colombo, Madras and possibly some West Coast capitals.

A Short Note on Mithila as Found in Prakrit Literature

BY

SHRI VIJAYAKANTA MISHRA, M.A.

Prakrit Literature has been studied very little by the scholars from the historical point of view. We have several instances from which several historical conclusions can be derived. There are few institutions in India which are trying to publish rare manuscripts of Prakrit literature. However, in this note I am trying to give a brief description of Mithilā as found in Prakrit literature.

The oldest name which we find about Mithilā is Mihila. The 19th Tirthankara Mallinatha and 21st Tirthankara Neminatha were born in this Province. These two Tirthankaras were initiated as well as they received their *Kevalajñāna* here according to Prakrit literature. Again we find in Prakrit literature that Akampita the eighth Gaṇadhara of Lord Mahavira was given birth to in the Dvija family by Jayanti, Deva's wife here.¹ He was initiated by Lord Mahavira and became his chief disciple. He used to teach three hundred students who received *pravrajyā*. Lord Mahavira came to the Province of Mithila after receiving the *Kevalajñāna* and his *samavasarana* was done near the Caitya of Maṇibhadra.

After 220 years of the nirvāṇa of Āryamahāgiri, we find in the *Uttarādhyanā Sūtra* that king Nemi of Mithilā was recognised as a Rājarṣi after becoming *pratyekabuddha*.

There is a chapter on Mithilā called *Mithilātīrthakalpa* in the Jain work *Vividhatīrthakalpa* or *Kalpapradīpa*² by Sri Jina Prabhu Suri of the 14th Century V. S. It also describes some religious places of the following provinces : the Punjab, Rajputana, Gujarat and Kathiawada, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bihar, Deccan Plateau, Berar, Karnataka and Telangana.

1. "Deva-Jayantiṇa Suo Ankompio nāma atthamo Jayai Aṭhattari Varisāū Mihilāe Samunbhavo Bhagavan.

(Cf. Dharmopadeśamālā Vivarapa of Jayasingha Suri, 915 V.S.)

2. Published by Vishwa Bharati, Sindhi Jaina Jñānapīṭha, Śāntiniketan, 1991 V.S., p. 32.

Shri Jina Prabhu Suri first gives the exact location of the country of Mithilā and records the present name of the country as *Tirahutti*. He says that we can find banana trees in every home of Mithilā. The travellers used to eat *cividayāñi* and rice cooked in milk. Here at very short distances we find Vāpi, Kūpa, Tadāga and rivers. In this country the man in the street is also expert in Sanskrit language. Scholars of this place are well versed in all the branches of learning. The city of Mithilā which is full of wealth is at present called as *Jagayī*. Kanakapura, the city of Kanaka, the brother of Maharaja Janaka is not far away from here. There is a very big banyan tree near the birth place of Sītā. The betrothal place of Ramachandra and Sītā is called *Sākallakunda*. Here there are several *laukika tirthas*.

Thus we find this a very unique description of Mithilā as given in Prakrit literature. I have not found it possible, however, to give all the references in this short note.

Reviews

THE RED SEA AND ADJACENT COUNTRIES AT THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, as described by Joseph Pitts, William Daniel and Charles Jacques Poncet, edited by Sir William Foster, C.I.E., London, 1949, Hakluyt Society, Series II, Volume C.—pp. xl. and 192—with an illustration and two maps.

This volume is numbered 100, Second Series, though its predecessor is not yet published, in order that its editor, Sir William Foster, may have the distinction of having edited the 100th volume of the Series, the first of which was also edited by him. The accounts of the three travellers have much in common and are supplementary to one another to a large extent; and their brevity was another factor for their presentation in one volume.

Joseph Pitts was the first, and for a long time the only, Englishman to penetrate into Mecca and Medina. Captured by an Algerian Corsair, he suffered cruel treatment and a forcible, though nominal, conversion to Islam; subsequently he accompanied his new master from Algiers to Alexandria, Jidda and the holy cities which he visited about 1685 or 86. After his return with his master, who had meanwhile emancipated him, to Algiers, Pitts took service in the Turkish army and when at Smyrna, he contrived to get aboard a French vessel and reach Leghorn. A small volume of his adventures, wanderings and escape was brought out by him in 1704 and reprinted three times; Sir Richard Burton furnished long extracts from his book. Pitt's *Narrative* given in this book is less than a third of the text of the volume that was published at London in 1731, as revised by Pitt, from which has been reproduced the illustration of the Temple at Mecca.

William Daniel was employed as a personal messenger of the old (London) East Indian Company sent to the East as soon as it contrived to secure a bill passed by Parliament in April 1700, enabling it to trade indefinitely as a legal corporation when its position was very critical on account of its impending dissolution as a corporation, and the cancellation of its charter at Michaelmas 1701, in favour of the rival (New) English Company. Daniel was to travel overland through Aleppo, and reach either Bombay, or Surat before the 31st of August that year. Daniel's race against time and great odds, proceeded only so far as Mocha. He returned

by way of Jidda, Mount Sinai and Cairo and in 1702 brought out a *Narrative* of his experiences ; and he has the credit of being the first Englishman to endeavour to reach India by way of the Red Sea.

As regards Poncet, the third of our travellers, he proceeded up the Nile and after a great length of time reached Sennar on the Blue Nile, and Gondar, the capital of Abyssinia, some months later. He spent nine months in Gondar and its neighbourhood and returned by way of Massawa on the Red Sea. He visited the Greek monastery at Sinai, after meeting Daniel on the way and arrived at Cairo in June 1701. We learn from other sources that Poncet was sent again on a mission to Abyssinia by way of the Red Sea in 1703. But the party that composed the mission soon broke up and Poncet drifted to Mocha and thence to Surat where he had no good repute, and thence to Isfahan where he married.

Poncet's account of Gondar and Abyssinia is meagre and discursive. His *Narrative* has appeared in several English versions, of which the earliest, that of 1709, is here reprinted. Foster has collated the English version of 1709 with the French version that was included in the fourth volume of the *Lettres Edifiantes* published in 1713.

An appendix gives Ovington's Notes on the Red Sea ports, and the map of Abyssinia by Ludolf, prepared in 1683, first published in his *History of Ethiopia* (2nd Ed. 1684).

Daniel's derivation of the meaning of the word *Sararzeens* (Saracens) (p. 70) is interesting, as also his information as to the origin and source of the Nile. He also refers to Albuquerque's attack on the port of Jiddah, in the course of his expedition to the Red Sea in 1513. Poncet has remarked that "the horror which the Aethiopians have for the Mahometans and Europeans is almost equal", and attributes their dislike of the latter to the excesses that the Portuguese committed among them. The account of the Ethiopian Church given on p. 122, and the note of Foster as to its link with Alexandria are valuable. The Ethiopians believed, as the Copts did, that the human nature of Christ was lost and absorbed in the divine nature as a drop of water was lost and absorbed in the sea. Foster's study of Ludolf's map of Abyssinia is very scholarly and exhaustive.

SIR WILLIAM JONES—Bicentenary of his Birth Commemoration
 • Volume—1746-1946. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta,
 1948—pp. x and 173.

The R. A. S. B. synchronised its annual meeting in 1946 with the Sir William Jones Birth Bicentenary celebration. This Commemorative Volume aptly begins with a foreword by Dr. Kalidas Nag who stresses the services of our early Indologists like Wilkins, Jones and Colebrooke and notes the principal European students of Sanskrit from the 16th century, like Sassetti, Rogerius, Anquetil du Perron, Schultze and others. Likewise he has pointed our attention to great Indian savants like Dr. R. L. Mitra, Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushan, Sarat Chandra Das, Haraprasad Shastri and others who were pioneers in the study of other Asiatic languages and cultures.

Of the numerous messages and felicitations received by the Society on the occasion, that of the Royal Society, London, of which Jones was elected a member in 1772 is significant. The message says that “because of the width of these activities, including as they do all branches of learning and research, both literary and scientific, that relate to Asia, the Asiatic Society may be regarded as an Academy in the widest sense of the original use of the term dating from the days of Plato”.

The Iranian Academy's message stresses the contributions that Iranian culture and literature gave to the people of India who, in their turn, have fruitfully preserved Iranian arts and literature. The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute congratulates the R. A. S. B. on its “redeeming itself of its *pitr-rna* through the performance of this *vāñmaya—śrāddha* to Sir William”.

In Section II—(*Symposia*), Prof. S. K. Chatterji, writing on Jones indicates the wide sweep with which he took in the achievements of the Man in the East and shows how he was “the first link between the old that was India and the new that was Europe”. Dr. R. C. Majumdar supplies us with a comprehensive survey, in his clear and telling language, of Indian culture operating as a factor in world civilisation. An account of the recent archaeological researches conducted by the French School of Oriental Studies at Hanoi, is given by M. Paul Levy. Mr. M. Hainidullah has given an instructive note on Islamic culture as a factor in world civilisation. Other articles in this section deal with the Pre-historic Culture of India, Racial Types in Pre-historic India, three Bhubanesvar Inscriptions, Burmese manuscripts with the R. A. S. B. and the poetry and poetical nature of Jones.

Finally an appeal is put forward that the R. A. S. B. should commemorate this Bicentenary by implementing a scheme for a *variorum* edition of Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* whose translation by Jones led to its recognition as one of the masterpieces of *World Literature*.

C. S. S.

HOMAGE TO VAISALI (Vaisali Sangha Publication)—pp. 204—

Published by the Vaisali Sangha on the occasion of the Fourth Vaisali Festival, April 21, 1948.

This sumptuous Commemoration Volume in honour of the ancient city of Vaisali, is an endeavour to convey through its articles, illustrations and general spirit, "a people's homage to the memory of a unique city and all that it stood for". Vaisali of the Lichchavis was a fearless and model republic of classic mould whose civic discipline was held forth as a model by the Lord Buddha for the conduct of his own Sangha. All its ancient glory is being attempted to be recovered for us and distributed through organised cultural festivals held on the site of its old ruins, similar to the Sexcentenary Celebrations of 1936 held at Hampi to celebrate the glorious heritage left by Vijayanagara.

Besides several papers in Hindi and extracts from the writings of Chinese travellers and from modern writers like A. Cunningham, and V. A. Smith, W. Geiger and S. Beal, we have solid contribution on Vaisali, the different phases of its heritage and history, its antiquities and unique constitution, by scholars like R. K. Mookerji, B. C. Law, R. C. Majumdar, S. C. Sarkar, N. Jagadesh Sarkar, D. C. Sircar, A. S. Altekar and others of eminence in research. Dr. R. K. Mookerji attributes the material prosperity and cultural progress of Vaisali to its *national* and *popular* government, crowned by a federation of republics, and urges excavation of its numerous mounds. Dr. Law discusses the problem of the identification of Vaisali with the village of Basarh and summaries references to it in the itineraries of the Chinese Pilgrims and in Tibetan works, as well as its administration and preservation of a relatively independent political status. Dr. R. C. Majumdar points out the possible relation between Wethali in Arakan and Vaisali, and the place that the latter has had in the minds of the Burmese people. Attention is drawn by Prof. S. C. Sarkar to the hitherto-overlooked historical traditions of pre-Buddhistic Vaisali; while Dr. A. S. Altekar tries to show that sovereignty was vested in the Kshatriya class who called themselves Rajas; and gradually power passed into a heredi-

tary family. Dr. D. C. Sircar holds that the Lichchavis were, in all probability, originally a non-Aryan tribe with Mongolian affinity, that was later admitted into the Hindu fold. Prof. Y. Mishra of Benares holds that Lord Mahavira was born at Kundagrama (Basukund) near Basarh, and not at Kundalapura near Nalanda, nor at Lichchuhar in the Monghyr district. Dr. J. N. Sarkar studies the references in the inscribed seals found at Basarh to corporations and guilds and holds that corporate activity as is learned from them is supported by epigraphic and literary records.

The influence of the Buddha's personality exerted over Vaisali, the mention of Vaisali in the Gilgit Manuscripts and its significance as illustrative of the working of its government and a descriptive account of the excavations at Vaisali are instructively furnished among the papers. H. E. Sri M. S. Aney, Governor of Bihar, in his Presidential Address, calls pointed attention to the appreciation of the teachings of the Buddha and Mahavira in the context of contemporary social, political and economic conditions, when greed for power blinded the vision of the Kshatriyas only.

The above is indicative of the value of the English dishes of fare provided in this sumptuous feast of the Commemoration Volume.

C. S. S.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF GUJARAT, By Dr. H. D. Sankalia. (Deccan College Monograph Series—3)—Poona, 1949—pp. XIV and 245.

This learned monograph which strikes out a new path of historical investigation is based on the Thakkar Vassonji Foundation Lectures delivered by the author under the auspices of the University of Bombay. The author attempts to bring to light the ethnographic basis of place-names and infer from their linguistic study the political and cultural forces that existed during the period. He proceeds to a careful examination of the ancient divisions of Gujarat, Lāta, Ānartta, Surashtra, and states that only under the Solankis (Chalukyas) Gujarat acquired a cultural and political unity, expressed by the word Gujarat or Gurjara-mandala. The Solankis claim about a hundred inscriptions of diverse types and relatively rich contents and capable of being checked with literary sources. The Sarasvata-mandala was the home-province of the Solankis and formed the backbone of their empire. Ahmadabad now holds the place which Anahilapura (Anhilvad) held under

them. The methods of Chalukyan government can be seen from the study of one of its large units, the Sarasvata-mandala whose administrative sub-divisions were normal in size for the times. Also we learn that Northern Gujarat was then populated in an identical manner as to-day, "Neither too thick as in Central Gujarat nor too sparse as in Cutch".

In his third lecture, on cultural geography, Dr. Sankalia argues that the name Ānartta (for Northern Gujarat) occurring in a second century inscription should show that the country had been Aryanised at least some centuries before that time. Vasana, Vasakika, Vādā, Vada, Pura, Nagara and Siddhi are some of the suffixes to place-names under the Chalukyas and several of them have survived in modern place-names, in their transformed Gujarati garb.

Jirna-durga (modern Junagadh) is a name of the late 13th century. Modern place-names in Northern Gujarat have much affinity, and that in large proportion, with place-names from Chalukya inscriptions; and over half of the rest of Gujarat place-names have endings that go back into the past.

Pre-Chalukyan place-names reveal the antiquity and wide prevalence of Siva worship in Gujarat. Ankulesvara should be probably Akulesvara, one of the names of Siva. Sihor (Simhapura) and Vaggachha (*Vyāgrāsa*) are named after animals, and thus we have in this book, a good glimpse of Gujarat and its places afforded through a study of its place-names.

The ethnographic value of the Gujarat inscriptions is next estimated. It is only the records subsequent to 500 A.D. that mention details about the Brahmana donees; and the details improve with the Gurjara, Chalukya, Maitraka, Rashtrakuta and Paramara records. The names of kings afford certain information on the forms of prevailing religions. The Brahmana donees and the writer class (Dūtakas) get mentioned in the records of the intermediate dynasties. Among other things we learn that in the Rashtrakuta period, Vitthala (Vitthu = Vishnu) a term of non-Sanskritic and Kannada origin, first occurs. Sena, as a Brahmana suffix, is rare, but found in a Kātaccuri record from Gujarat. The prefix, Bhatta, denoting a scholar is often found. Incidentally our author shows that Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is not right in regarding the suffixes occurring in the Valabhi Plates as definitely Nagar *sarmans*.

The Rashtrakutas did not show any special preference for Brahmanas from the Deccan and Karnataka; and perhaps the

Samavedis and the Atharvavedis were not patronised at all by them. The Rig Veda claimed a majority of the *Nagara* sub-groups.

In the Chalukya records mention of the merchant class appears in increasing numbers whose professional designations have now become surnames. The term *Bai* is found prefixed to the names of the sisters of Tejahpala and used in the higher aristocratic classes in about the 13th century.

Kayastha has been traced in its original connotation ; and we learn that there as a writer-class in Gujarat from at least 600 A.D., and it came to form a sub-caste called Kayastha, in the 10th century. The Sartha was evidently a caravan trader, and the Sadhu (Sao) had a fixed habitation ; and a *Srēsthī* denoted a *Sāhukāra* (a money-lender). *Thakkura* (a small officer) first occurs in the Chalukya records ; and the origin of this class may be traced back to the 10th century.

The chapter on correlations and conclusions is full of views that are very plausible, but cannot be accepted in their entirety ; particularly the invasions of the Aryans of the Outer and Inner Groups. The lines of investigation suggested are very useful guides for workers. The Appendix matter (list of place-names from Chalukya inscriptions and their identification) is very exhaustive and thorough.

C. S. S.

HISTORY OF THE ISLAMIC PEOPLES—By Carl Brockelmann, London—Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.—1949—pp. xix and 566.

This is the English translation done by J. Carmichael and M. Perlmann from the German original, first published in 1939, entitled *Geschichte der Islamischen Volker und Staaten*. The translation was done during the war years, without the direct supervision of the author from whom, however, a few changes were incorporated before the final proof-reading was done. The main object is to furnish a bird's-eye view of the fortunes of the believers in Islam, along with a sketch of their cultural and intellectual life.

Beginning in the first section with an account of the Arabs and the Arab Empire going down to the destruction of the Umayyad power, the narrative takes us, in the next section, to the glory of the Abbasides, the decay of the Caliphate, the rise of the minor dynasties in all the areas from Morocco to Iraq, the emergence of the Seljuks, Islam in Spain and North Africa, the area and wars

of the Crusades, the Mamluks in Egypt and the end of the Abbasids of Baghdad.

The forces that destroyed pre-Islamic Arab Paganism are clearly indicated ; and the Prophet developed in Medina into a political leader and a gifted statesman who was not to be deflected from his final goal, rule over Arabia, while "the abstract monotheism which to a considerable extent was the basis of the proselytizing power of Islam developed only gradually". The theocratic empire which developed after the Prophet's death out of the national state founded by him is analysed. The writer then describes the process by which life in Syria and Iraq rose to a higher standard than in the old homeland and how, with the decline of the Umayyads, not only the Syrians, but the Arabs in general, lost their absolute sovereignty in Islam.

In the new capital, Baghdad, the Caliph ruled not as a tribal Shaykh, but as the successor of the Persian great kings. Philology and history developed, both dominated by Arabic and the great past of the Arabs. Interest in historical tradition had been very lively even in Ancient Arabia. The Caliph Ma'mun had a personal interest in Greek science whose study had always been kept up in the Syrian monasteries ; and the architectural relics of the age have been noticed in places.

The Samanids and the Ghaznavids are noticed succinctly. Firdawsi's *Shahname* is deemed never to fall into a stereotyped technique, though its range is eight times greater than that of the *Iliad*. It was only fitting that Ranascent Iran, under Shah Riza Pehlevi, celebrated the millennial jubilee of the birth of Firdawsi in 1934 which year was chosen for lack of an established chronological tradition, as the date for the celebration.

The great names of Nizam-al-Mulk and of Ghazzali rendered illustrious the Seljukian era ; while in the remote West, Abd-ar-Rahman's long reign witnessed the burgeoning of the Andalusian civilisation that roused the admiration of mediaeval Europe ; and Jalal-ad-Din Rumi, who was the greatest mystic poet of Islam, flourished in a non-Persian land.

When the Ottoman Turks became the leading power in Islam—nearly a hundred pages are devoted to them—a new epoch opened. While Muhaminad, the conqueror of Constantinople, was the triest representative of the old Osmanli, with all his virtues and faults, Suleyman codified the feudal system first fixed on the Byzantine model. The Osmanlis paid great attention to artillery from the beginning. Like the ensemble of the administration, originally the

exercise of the law had also a military basis. The religious life of the people was more effectively influenced by the dervish orders than by the official clergy ; scholastic studies moved in channels of tradition and showed no originality. The Osmanlis took the Arabs as their teachers in the strict sciences, but imitated Persian models in their historical writings ; and in geography they followed much of accidental learning. While they were numerically small, the Osmanlis were able to control wide areas, because of their peculiar system of military enfeoffment which distributed them everywhere as prosperous gentry. Their conflict with the new Persian empire of the Safawids which is traced, gave them ultimate victory and a protracted period of peace without any disturbance from neighbours either.

Section IV takes us on to the nineteenth century wherein interest centres round Turkey and Egypt, and only to a little extent in Persia, Afghanistan and North Africa. The next and last Section deals with the Islamic state after the first Great War when all of them began to experience a political and cultural renaissance. The consequent rupture with the past resulted in places in a degree of severe social upheaval, particularly in Turkey ; and the growing reaction against European influence has been clearly traced. The narrative stops with the outbreak of the IIInd World War. Everywhere it is chokeful of facts and data ; and the warp of political details is balanced by the woof of notices of cultural, artistic and literary life and activity. A fine chronological chart and synoptic table for the different countries after 1919, and a good and select bibliography enhance the value of the book.

C. S. S.

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEMS OF MADRAS PROVINCE, by V. V. Sayana, M.A., Ph.D., University of Bombay, with a Foreword by Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Madras—The Business Week Press—1949—pp. xxiv and 332.

Great interest attaches to the subject which covers a wide range such as problems of tenancy, agricultural labour, land transfers, rural credit and bases of agrarian reform. Thus, while the population of the Presidency increased by more than 9 millions in the interval between the two great wars, extension of cultivation showed only 3% increase in the same period. The factors affecting soil productivity are described with the remark that the forces contributing to the phenomenal increase of some special crops may not persist in the long run. Discussing the impact of

demographic pressure, the author shows how there has been no considerable change in rural congestion and agriculture is on a deficit economy.

Going to the examination of the land system, we learn that the tenurial policy of Government till almost the present day, lacked the objectives of securing greater income, equality, security or efficiency. This is perhaps a bit overdone, particularly with reference to the object of security. Besides the usual charges levelled against Govrnmnt for perpetuating the hierarchical complexities leading to lack of initiative and enterprise on the part of all classes concerned, and of chaos in the bases of assessment adopted, a plea is put forward for the entire readjustment and modification of the system of assessment. The Punjab sliding scale system is compared with the *Olungu* settlement that was tried in Tanjore in the earlier part of the 19th century and the difficulties in the way of the imposition of an agricultural income-tax are also outlined.

Among the various aspects of Zamindari settlement, here discussed, the most striking is the divergence between rentroll and *peshkash*—which has called forth for it the scathing remark that it is “the most amazing caricature of an ordered system of land tenure in the world”; and the conclusion arrived at is that the system is not capable of organic improvement at all and does not afford any scope for mending.

Land transfers and rural credit are next discussed, comprehending a brief outline of land-transfer legislation acts in India and their effects, and the conclusion that the only good solution of rural indebtedness is to enable the cultivator to get an adequate income—which is however, only a Platonic solution. Then follows an analysis of the problems of farm-tenancy like duration and conditions of leases,—rackrenting, fair rents and costs and profits of farm-owning. We have data that prove that agrarian serfdom is not yet extinct in some areas of the Presidency and that in the progress of agrarian reform great care ought to be taken to preserve a balance between doctrinaire idealism and expediency. The author is in favour of prohibiting ownership of land merely for the purpose of renting it. He also feels that the problems awaiting solution being immense, much depends on the manner of procedure and the nature of the *personnel* entrusted with the implementing of the projected reforms.

C. S. S.

BUDDHISM AND ASOKA, by B. G. Gokhale, M.A., Ph.D., with Foreword by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Padmaja Publications, Baroda—pp. 289. (*Indian Historical Research Institute-Studies in Indian History*—No. 17.)

Dr. Gokhale, who is a good student of Pali, holds that the Buddha's striking personality contributed largely to the wide spread of his system. Buddhism being an ethical monastic movement, symbolised a social revolution of the first magnitude; its humanitarianism (humaneness, as it is termed by the author) which repudiated caste and rejected sacrificial ritual as futile, and its general rational outlook, all symbolised, in the land of its birth, a bold stand against the superimposition of an alien culture; while the republican organisation and solidarity of the Sangha helped the spread of Buddhist dogma. The lay house-holder was admitted into the fold and provided with a philosophy and a goal, which was not *Nirvana*, but "godhood"—gods and spirits being taken from the religion and cult of the masses, and rarely from Brahmanical mythology. Thus with the arrival of the gods the monastic movement developed into a "systematised religion with its own heavens and hells, *devas* and spirits, to which was added later on the deified personality of the Buddha." The ideal of *deva*-hood was lower than that of *Nirvana*; and the Devas were not much better than dignified human beings.

Our author explains the various contributing factors which brought about this transformation. While the religion of the laity was at first a moral creed, with the law of Karma as its backbone and opposed to all forms of ritualism, it gradually assumed the trappings of ritual such as *stupa*-worship; and moral acts were deemed to be more effective if accompanied by faith in the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. The Buddha's personality attained a new sanctity. Charity was meritorious, specially if directed towards the Sangha and as an effect the Sangha assumed greater importance, than before. The conception of a *preta* world of ghosts or spirits was also evolved.

After thus outlining the condition of Buddhism, our author discusses various points connected with Asoka's devotion to Buddhism. He holds that Asoka's philosophy was necessarily the same as that of any other Buddhist layman; and he abolished all rituals which were indicative of the faith of the Brahmanas and substituted his own version of those practices. His aim was to spread the path of morality as preached by the Buddha along with certain additions of his own.

Also we learn that the Sangha was menaced by splits even at the time of the Council of Vaisali and it was possible that a certain mixed Mahayana Buddhism emerged about the same time. These sects developed distinctly only after the death of Asoka when Theravada, Sarvastivada and the Mahasanghikas appeared ; and now the Buddhist community was crystallised as a distinct unit from the rest of the population. By now the religion had filtered into all the strata of society and had likewise spread outwards.

Dr. Gokhale is in agreement with Dr. N. N. Dutt that the Buddhist community had now come to possess distinct characteristics of its own, as different places of worship and pilgrimage, a certain 'castelessness' and peculiar outlook and customs.

Asoka was a Buddhist layman in that he accepted the formula of the *Trisarana*, made extensive charities to the Sangha, made pilgrimages to the holy places of Buddhism and was an eminent and ideal lay devotee.

The Ajivikas, the Jainas, the Brahmanical sects and Naga worship prevailing in that age, are detailed at some length ; and it is shown how the Buddhists cleverly made use of the prevailing tree worship for their own specific purpose by honouring it as the Bodhi tree.

The political back-ground is described in the second part of the book wherein the Mauryas and the factors that brought about their decline take a large place. And the Sunga kings and their achievements, as well as the republican clans and kingdoms on the fringes, are delineated with clarity and authority.

The third part deals with social life and economic conditions. Caste fissures are explained at some length, through the stages of their growth and with stress laid on the social significance of the Buddhist movement. The last part on Buddhist Art divides Buddhist monuments into two distinct groups, utilitarian and commemorative structures. Even under Asoka, and later in a much larger measure, Buddhist art showed a synthesis of foreign influences, and in the post-Asokan age Buddhist art became in reality the art of the people. Naturally the educational and cultural levels were high.

For his clear and balanced discussion of controversial points, and his lucid and well-documented narrative the author deserves every praise, and as Father Heras has fittingly remarked, 'performed his task "very fittingly."

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bihar Research Society—Journal of the. September and December 1948 (Vol. XXXIV, Parts III and IV).

(a) *Shah Alam's Agony and Appeal*, by Dr. Kalikinkar Datta.

(b) *Bearing of Numismatics on the Later Imperial Guptas*, by Dr. B. P. Sinha. "The fundamental error (of previous researchers) has been to identify Kumara Gupta of the Sarnath inscription with he of the Bhitari Seal." Who succeeded Kumara Gupta I ? Not Skanda Gupta, and Puru Gupta. "The fact was just the reverse". Narsimha Gupta Baladitya defeated Minirakula after 494-5 A.D., the last known date of Budha Gupta, abdicated the throne, and was succeeded by his son Kumara Gupta III, who issued Nalanda and Bhitari Seals, and might have lost his life in about 530 ". He was succeeded by Vishnu Gupta Chandraditya, the last Gupta emperor, who saw the dissolution of his empire at his death in about 550-51 A.D.

(c) *More Gods of Harappa*, by T. G. Ārāvamuthan. 5 scenes on the Harappa seals are discussed. Vedic Pasupathi and Nataraja and perhaps a four-armed deity of Harappa culture—"These gods were no strange or isolated or freakish personalities in this culture", not of Dravidian origin. The "Horn-crown" seems to be the symbol of divinity. The composite man-bull-goat, or—ram animal in the unbroken seal A (opp. p. 31) belongs to the caparidae and not bovidae species. This is "a god who is essentially a goat", and not a bull. It is Agni. The horned god in the cosmic peepal tree is Brahman—Vishnu, and the one kneeling before him is Sanatkumara, i.e. Indra, Kama, and Skanda—Subrahmanyam—Muruga of the Tamil country, all identical. "The hymns of that (Rig) Veda having been composed with a view to the sacrificial ritual, especially that of the Soma offering", it is irrelevant "to look into them for the Linga and the Great Mother" which "Might even have been survivals in Vedic times, and yet irrelevant to the Veda and, so gone unmentioned in it."

"The culture of Harappa appears, thus, to be consistently Vedic, Harappan Siva being very much like Vishnu and Vishnu not being Dravidian, the culture of Harappa need not

be Dravidian. * * * (it) "is evidently Vedic Culture starting on the trek to Classical Hinduism." But see III, I, and VI, 6 below).

(d) *The Site of the University of Vikramasila*, by Rev. Swami Pranavananda, F.R.G.S., Almora. Sankrityayana and others are of opinion that the site is Sultanganj, 16 miles from Bhagalpur, and about 40 miles from Bateswara. But it is probably in the petty villages of Oriya and Antichak near Bateswara, full of Buddhist remains, about 6 miles north of Kahalgaon (English Colgong), 20 miles east of Bhagalpur in Bihar.

(e) *Mulfuzat* (conversations) and *Makgubat* (letters) of the 14th century (about A.H. 770), saint — scholar Hazrat Ahmad Sharfuddin Yahya of Maner, in Bihar, a disciple of the great savant M. Sharfuddin Tawwama of Sonargaon in Bengal.

Bombay University — Journal of the. January 1949 (Vol. XVII, New Series, Part 4, History, &c., No. 33.

(a) *History of Karnatak — a Brief Survey*, by Vidyaratna R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A. From the pre-historic period. "Karnatak was the most powerful political and cultural centre in India and maintained its international superiority until the decline of the Vijayanagara house-hold in the 16th century A.D."

(b) *The Kṛta Era*, by Prof. K. B. Vyas, M.A., F.R.A.S., "The terms Kṛta : Malava : Vikrama are found to have designated the Vikrama era at different consecutive periods". A great victory seems to have been won by the Malavas and adjoining Kṛtas (= Kaṭhas), in alliance perhaps with other powers which probably emancipated them from the tyranny of a barbarous foreign power, the Sakas, and initiated the Kṛta-Malava-Vikrama era. Kṛta country N. W. of Malwa, is Yuan Chwang's K'i -T'a (S. E. Rajputana), read by Beal as Kie Ch'a, because in Chinese Ch'a is often "misprinted for t'u. (Chinese dialectical cha has also the form te, which appear as te and chāya (=English tea) in S. India Languages). Katha or Kaṭha people and their country are mentioned by Patanjali, their antiquity reaching back to Vedic times. The Kaṭhopanishad owe their origin to the Kaṭhas. Kaṭha of popular speech was restored in Sanskrit as Kṛta.

Sten Konow says : "The Vikrama era itself was not originally an era, but an arrangement of the year of the Malavas in four equal parts. As shown by Keilhorn (1891) its name

is due to the fact that its year Kārttikādi, beginning at the autumnal equinox in the month Kārttika, for the autumn is the *Vikramakāla*, the time when one goes out in warfare".—*India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, p. 194.

Ceylon University Review, July, 1949. Vol. VII, No. 3.

by Prof. O. H. de A. Wijesekara. "The part played by the (a) *Rgvedic Bharata*: A Survival from Aryan Pre-History, Bharatas or Bhāratas in consolidating Aryan rule in Vedic times and in the succeeding centuries till about the rise of Buddhism constitutes on any account an important chapter in the social and political history of ancient India". Bharata's root *bhr*, in "the sense of "carry off, bear away", hence rob, plunder, raid, win (obtain) in fight or race" has a significantly pronounced vogue in the *Rgveda*". "There can be no doubt that the basic or historical sense of "bhara-ta" in the *Rgveda* is "fighter" or 'warrior' as a cultural development from the more primitive raider." "The use of 'Bharata' is only a faint reminiscence of the evolution of the warrior from the primitive hunter." As Gordon Childe (in his *Man Makes Himself* and *The Aryans*) has shown, the Aryans were at the end of the palaeolithic age" a sparse population of neolithic hunters strung out indefinitely over the steppe" of Central Asia, and roamed there long "before they acquired enough wealth and position by raiding and looting to develop into the military aristocracy that they became in course of time", so that the term *vanik* (= trader, i.e., one who possessed enough wealth to barter), as applied to Indra (Rv. 5. 45-6)" indicates "the masses of gold and silver buried in the enormous burrows", "tombs found in the northern slopes of the Caucasus, of Aryan chieftains who had led their followers on plundering expeditions into Armenia, Cappadocia, and even Mesopotamia."

[It is not unlikely therefore, that the statement in RV. IV. 30. 20 that "Indra overthrew a hundred *purs* (= cities) made of stone of Divodāsa his worshipper", is a reminiscence of primitive Aryan raids far away from Harappa in Sind. See I. 3, above.—T. K. J.]

(b) *Sutta Nipāta*: *The Muni Sutha*, by N. A. Jayawickrama. "The earlier inscriptional evidence" (earlier than Milinda Panha, circa 80 B.C., which quotes Sutta Nipāta) "from the Bhābru Minor Rock Edict of Asoka shows that the Muni Sutta was a popular piece even as early as the third century B.C."

- (c) *Some Corrections of Geiger's Mahāvamsa Translation* (contd.), by Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta.
- (d) *Christian Missionary Enterprise in the Early British Period*, by Rev. C. N. V. Fernando. (a) Lond. M. Society since 1805, (b) Baptist Missions since 1812.
- (e) *Some Problems of Translation and Interpretation*. (1) of Pāli, and other terms, by K. N. Jayatilaka.

Ganganath Jha Research Institute—Journal of the Nov. 1948 (Vol. VI, Part I). Allahabad.

- (a) *Slavery as Known to Early Buddhists*, by Dr. B. C. Law, Calcutta. When Megasthenes said no person in India, not even a foreigner, was held as a slave, he must have meant that there were no *de-jure* slaves (in the small portion of India known to him in person). Arthashastra (10 kinds of slaves including Mleccha slaves), Buddha (Ayyas and dasas = masters and slaves, in the Frontier), Manu (7 kinds), Jain books (6 kinds), Buddhist books, &c., mention slavery in India. "Slavery was so common (in India) that not only the kings and wealthy people, but also the Brahmins and recluses and villagers and farmers kept slaves in their custody". "It is not a fact that the Buddha had not exerted himself in the interest of the slaves and the servants".
- (b) *Sanskrit Drama in a Comparative Light* (contd.), by K. C. Pandey. "Though Sanskrit drama differs from both English and Greek dramas, particularly tragedies — yet there is fair similarity in the treatment of the subject matter and the technique adopted for it".
- (c) *Whitehead and Sankara* (contd.), by P. Nagaraja Rao.
- (d) *Some Outstanding Features of the Advaita Philosophy according to Sureswara*, by Veeramani Prasad Upadhyaya. "Of all the Sankara's direct disciples traditionally admitted to be so, Sureswara figures as the most prominent, and he has left behind a number of works."
- (e) *Hindu Law, a Code of Duties*, by K. R. R. Sastry.

"In a community like that of the ancient Hindus saturated with religion and philosophy, it is not surprising that their ancient scriptures — *Srutis* and *Smṛtis* — should be almost replete with one's duties, rather than rights." "Medhatithi (9th cent. A.D.) and Viswarupa (identified with Sureswara-charya, beginning of 9th cent.) particularly have strenuously established the Vedic origin of the *Smṛtis*".

London Institute of Historical Research — Bulletin of the.
Vol. XXII, No. 65, May, 1949.

- (a) *A. F. Pollard, 1869-1948*, by C. H. Williams.
- (b) *Considerations on the War of American Independence*, by Gerald S. Graham.
- (c) *Select Documents — XLIV : Two unpublished letters of Thomas Cromwell*, by G. R. Elton. (Letters of 27 May 1538, and 13 September 1539).
- (d) *Dictionary of National Biography — Correction of errors, and revision, Aldrich to Young.*

London School of Oriental and African Studies — Bulletin of the.
Vol. XIII, Part i, 1949.

- (a) *Is Episcopacy a Jewish Institution*, by Alfred Guillaume.
"To me it is clear — (others may pursue it in greater detail) —that in the apostolic church bishops were not ordained or consecrated as such. They were themselves presbyters—gradually they assumed a precedence which strictly—pertained to the presbytery as a whole — As such an autocratic office was certainly not Jewish in origin, doubtless those who see in the growth of episcopacy the workings of the Roman mind, with its love of authority and central government, will find some confirmation in the foregoing."
- (b) *Caucasia in the History of Mayyājāriqīn (on a left tributary of the Tigris, at 70 kilometers N.E. of Amid = Diyārbakr)*, by V. Minorsky. From A.D. 1121, from a MS. in vulgar Arabic, dating shortly after 1176.
- (c) *The Aramaic (fragmentary, 10 in. × 8 in.) Inscription of Asoka found in Lampāka*, by W. B. Henning (with 2 plates). Sanskrit Lampāka, or Lambāka, the ultima Thule of Jambudvipa (= India) is Laghmān, a district on the left (northern) bank of the Kabul river, a little above Jalalabad. There are five Middle Indian expressions in it, which are copied from Asoka's Prakrit inscriptions, and indicate the identity of those inscriptions, viz. 5th Pillar Edict, 9th Rock Edict (?), 4th R. E., 3rd P. E. (?), 13th R. E., and 5th R. E. (?). All the five M. I. expressions end with "shyty", which stands for *sahite* = Sanskrit *sahitam*, or *samhitam* = composed of, accompanied by, etc. Another Aramaic inscription had been discovered at Sirkap, Taxila, "which most scholars now attribute to Asoka's reign".
- (d) *Recent Work on the Indus Civilization*, by A. L. Basham. Dr. Mackay's excavations at Chanhudaro, since 1935, have

shown "that the culture of which the Harappa (Sind) remains are the type was superseded, in this part of Sind, at any rate, by later intrusive cultures, those of Jhukar and Jhangar". The abandonment of the well-fortified Indus cities took place "as late as the sixteenth century B.C." "The pattern of the Indus political system was similar to that of Sumer—a priest-king governing a servile population through a rigid bureaucracy." The Harappa people had coffin burial, about 50 having been uncovered at Cemetery R 37 in Harappa (1946 A.D.). The second Harappa cemetery (H), where fractional urn-burials of a people of a later intrusive culture have been exhumed, suggests "that these people were Aryans". Prof. Wheeler "associates the fall of Harappa with the protohistoric advent of the Aryans", and adds that "on circumstantial evidence Indra stands accused. Nevertheless, Indra's hostile citadels, (in the *Rgveda*) may be represented not by the Harappa cities but by others yet unknown to us." See III, 1 above.

Indra is called *vanik* (= literally trader, i.e. one who possessed enough wealth to barter). The tombs in the northern slopes of the Caucasus are of Aryan chieftains, and the masses of gold and silver buried in the enormous burrows must partly be loot from the rich states south of the range—manifest in the gold and silver lions and bulls that decorated the canopy under which one prince was laid to rest. We may suspect that the ancestors of the Indians and the Iranians discovered as free-booters the roads that eventually led them to the throne of Mitanni and to the Indus Valley", says Gordon Childe in *The Aryans* (pp. 30, 193, &c.).

[“Indra overthrew for Divodāsa his worshipper a hundred cities made of stone”, says *Rgveda*, IV. 30. 20. Does this refer to Harappan cities, or is it a reminiscence of those destroyed elsewhere by the ancestors of the Aryans before their exodus to the Indus? See III, 1 above. The 1,000—pillard abode of Mitra and Varuna in *Rgveda* II, 41·5 may be a reference to one of the palaces far away from India.—T. K. J.]

Dr. De Hevesy sets striking similarity between the Indus script and the Easter Island pictographs, while Prof. Hronzy, unlike Meriggi and Heras take it as proto-Dravidian, regards the language as "an Indo-European tongue of the *centum group*". Basham brands Fr. Heras' as "fantastic translations, and Dr. Meriggi's and Fr. Heras' as "strange readings" pp. 143-44).

The mysterious cult-object frequently depicted on the Indus seals in conjunction with a sacred bull is believed by Prof. Koppers actually to represent " a magic table similar to that used by the Gonds " (of India).

Now the identity of the earliest bead material in India with that of Mesopotamia is very striking, and therefore, Dr. M. G. Dikshit, author of *Etched Beads in India*. (Deccan College, Poona, 1949) accepts the conclusion of Gordon Childe that India was the centre of bead manufacture and that the workshops of the etched beads at Ur of the Chaldees were named by the Indus valley artisans.

(e) *Notes on Ptolemy* (contd.) by J. Ph. Vagel.

Contra Lassen and others Apokopa (steep, precipitous, or a ridge of bluffs in Greek) in India, or Poinai Theōn (= the punishment, or vengeance of the gods, i.e. the mountain range very difficult to cross) is probably the mountainous region of Rath, inhabited by the Bhils, which is formed by a branch of the Vindhya that strikes northwards towards Udaipur, and constitutes the western boundary of the Malwa Plateau, though it is not one of the 'Kulaparvatas'.

Arouaia, Ptolemy's 7th and easternmost mountain in "India intra Gangem", with Salakenoi people in the neighbourhood, must be identified with the Eastern Ghats, the name of the people Aruvālar, or their country Aruvānādu, between the Palar and Southern Pennar, having been applied by Ptolemy or rather the Tamilians to the mountain, Aruvāmalai in Tamil — literally the Aruva-mountain, which is to be explained as the mountain of the land called Aruvā).

(f) *Phonology of Sinhalese Inscriptions up to the end of the 10th cent.* (contd.), by P. B. F. Wijeratne. Criticism of Geiger.

(g) *Malay History from Chinese Sources*, by R. C. Winstedt. They are inaccurate in the case of Parameswara alias Megat Iskandar Shah after conversion to Islam, and others of 15th century.

Mysore University — Half-yearly Journal of the New Series, Section B, Vol. IX, No. 2, March 1949.

(a) *Hastingsites from Mysore*, by M. G. Chakrapani Naidu.

(b) *Algal Structures from the Cuddapah Limestones (Pre-Cambrian), South India*, by M. R. Srinivasa Rao, M.Sc.

(c) *Contributions to the Flora of Nandi Hills, Part II*, by M. J. Tirumalachari, B.A., Razi, and B.G.I. Swamy. Additions to the common flowering plants of Nandi Hills.

Numismatic Society of India — Journal of the. Vol. X, Part II,
Dec. 1948, issued July 1949.

(a) *Rare and Unique coins from the Bayana Gupta Hoard*, by Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University. A new coin-type of Kāchagupta with Garudadhvaja and Chakradhvaja, which shows (*contra Heras*) that Garudadhvaja was not unknown to Kācha. A new Samudragupta variety of the standard type. Rare and unique types of Chandragupta II. Interesting and unique coins of Kumaragupta I.

(b) *The Art of Gupta Coins*, by B. S. Sitholey. Foreign influence supposed by Vincent Smith and Prof. Elliot Smith, is a fiction.

(c) *A Unique Gold coin (dated 746 A.H./1345 A.D.) of Nasiruddin Mahmud, Sultan of Mā'bar 14th cent.* by C. R. Singhal, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. This Mahmud was one of the "Sultans of Madura" from Jalalud-din Ahsan Shah (father-in-law of the traveller Ibn-Batuta) to the year 1378. They had better be called Sultans of Mā'bar, the Arab and Persian name (13th-14th cent.) for Coromandel and Karnatic coasts of India.

(d) *Kasrawad Hoard of (36) Silver Punch-marked coins (round square, or rectangular)*, by D. B. Diskalkar, M.A. Indore. The hoard can definitely be assigned to the 2nd century B.C.

(e) *Inaugural Address (at Delhi, 27-12-48)*, by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Director General of Archaeology in India.

(f) *Presidential Address (on the same date)* by Dr. J. M. Unwala, M.A., Ph.D. (Heidelberg). A general survey of the Treasure-Trove finds in different parts of India; new acquisitions of the Lucknow Museum; the problem of the monograms on the coins of the Greek Series; and the problem of the Indian seals.

Oriental MSS. Library — Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Vol. II, No. 1, 1949.

Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi and Arabic MSS. included.

Oriental Research — Journal of (Madras). Vol. XVII, Part I, Sept. 1947, published 1949.

(a) *Three (Sanskrit) Ramayana Recensions (of Bengal, N. W. India, and South India)*, by C. Bulcke, S. J., Allahabad University.

It is probable that Valmiki wrote it round about 300 B.C., or at the latest as Winternitz says during the 3rd cent. B.C. it is generally admitted that it contained the matter corresponding to the actual Kāndas II to VI only, the Bala—and Uttara—kāndas being later additions.

(b) *Sanskrit and Greek Metres*, by H. N. Randle, India Office, London. Sanskrit metre has very close connection with Greek and Latin metre. But the latter is borrowed wholesale from Greek. “The patterns of Sanskrit versification are so similar to those found in Greek that what is true of one should be true of the other”.

(c) *Early Kadamba Chronology*, by Dr. G. S. Gai, Ootacamund. The probable, revised, dates range from Myurasarman (A.D. 320-45) to Harivarman (519-30) and Krishnavarman II (520-40). But “we must await fresh discoveries for the clarification of the fixed, doubtful, and controversial points connected with the early Kadamba history.”

Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati—Journal of the. Sri. Vol. IX, No. 2. July—Dec. 1948.

(a) *East and West Religion and Philosophy*, by Prof. K. C. Varadachari, M.A., Ph.D.

(b) *Rg Veda and Purvottara Mimamsa Methods of Interpretation*, by Sri D. T. Tatacharya, M.O.L.

(c) *Agriculture in the Vedas and the Epics*, by Sri N. Subrahmanyam Sastri, M.A.

(d) *Sanskrit, Tamil, and Telugu MSS. published*.

(e) *A Sanskrit Encyclopaedia in Manuscript* (compiled in over 40 years since 1859 by Venkata Rangacharyulu of Vizagapatam), by P. V. Ramanujaswami, M.A. See Vol. VII, No. 2, Vol. VIII, No. 2, and a forthcoming issue of the same *Journal of SVOI*, Tirupati.

T. K. Joseph.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society*, Nagpur.
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly*, Poona.
4. *Brahma Vidya*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
5. *Britain To-day*, London.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
8. *Commercial Review*, Alleppey.
9. *The Federated India*, Madras.
10. *Half Yearly Journal of Mysore University*, Mysore.
11. *The Hindustan Review*, Patna.
12. *The Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *India Digest*, Ahmedabad.
15. *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*,
Bombay.
18. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
19. *Journal of Sadul Rajasthan Research Institute*, Bikaner.
20. *Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
21. *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
22. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
23. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Benares.
24. *Perspective*, Delhi.
25. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
26. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*,
Rajahmundry.
27. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
28. *University of Ceylon Review*, Colombo.
29. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Cocanada.
30. *Quarterly Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy*,
Bangalore.

